

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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*Edited by Nash Kerr Burger*

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

SEPTEMBER

PER YEAR

PER COPY

1941

\$4.00

\$1.25

283.73  
4673

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Garrison, New York. All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

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Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

# Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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VOL. X

SEPTEMBER, 1941.

No. 3

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## THE GREEK MISSION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1828-1899

*By Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr.*

THOUGH it has long been almost forgotten, the Greek Mission of the Episcopal Church was of historical importance; and has a real present-day interest. It may dispute with Africa the position of our first foreign mission field; plans were made for an African Mission as early as 1822, but owing to a series of accidents none of our missionaries arrived there until work in Greece had begun. Liberia is the oldest of our present mission fields; but for seventy years Greece occupied the first place in annual reports. African news appeared in the first number of the *Missionary Paper* (the predecessor of the *Spirit of Missions*), and Greek news in the third.

Nor is the interest of the Greek Mission purely historical. It was our first contact with the Eastern Churches, and so was the occasion for establishing the principle of friendly approach and non-proselytism on which we have since proceeded—a principle much attacked at the time, but now generally adopted in Protestant as well as Anglican circles. The word "Mission" in connection with it did not mean a converting agency, though some wished that it did; it was rather similar to a diplomatic mission, offering such assistance as might be needed and acceptable. Hence the Greek Mission has an important place not only in the history of our Foreign Missions, but in that of our ecclesiastical relations.

### I

On May 13, 1828, the Rev. J. M. Wainwright, then rector of Grace Church, New York, preached the annual sermon before the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. To the

published sermon he added a series of notes; among them was the following, attached to a reference to missionary possibilities in Africa:

Greece might be another interesting sphere for missionary labour. With the fair prospect, and almost the assurance of political independence, with a true church existing there, although decayed and dilapidated like her ancient temples, with prepossessions favorable to this country, through the benevolent interest we have exhibited in her favour, we have every reason to believe that judicious and able missionaries sent from hence, might accomplish much in reanimating the spirit of true religion in that land, dear to us as scholars by its classical associations, far dearer to us as Christians as the scene of Paul's preaching and labours . . . One or two able and learned and pious missionaries, (for they must be eminent in all these qualities to be really efficient,) could we obtain them, might move the lukewarm, and animate the desponding among the Greek clergy, and produce an intercourse of love between two sister churches, having the common bond of a primitive ministry. But perhaps the expression of such anticipations is premature; we may, however, cherish them in our hearts, and pray for their speedy accomplishment.<sup>1</sup>

As Wainwright's reference to "benevolent interest" indicates, American sympathy with Greece had already found practical expression. Official sympathy and private support were extended to the Greeks soon after their war of independence began in 1821. Fairly large funds were raised for the Greek forces in 1824, and there followed in 1827 a drive for Greek relief—hostilities practically ended with the Battle of Navarino in that year, but the war left much distress behind it, especially during the following winter.<sup>2</sup> Episcopalians were not particularly prominent in these efforts, but did share in them. In Philadelphia Bishop White presided with his usual mildness at a pro-Hellenic meeting on December 11, 1823, and the Rev. Gregory Bedell, rector of St. Andrew's, a center of evangelical and missionary activity, preached for the Greek fund on January 18, 1824, and for Greek relief on February 26, 1827.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>J. M. Wainwright, *A Sermon Preached Before the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on Tuesday, May 13, 1828. New York, 1828, 24 pp.; pp. 23-24.*

<sup>2</sup>E. M. Earle, "American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827," in *The American Historical Review*, vol. xxxiii, 1928, pp. 44-63.

<sup>3</sup>Myrtle A. Cline, *American Attitude Toward the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828, Atlanta, 1930, 231 pp., pp. 56, 101-2, 127-8; Gregory T. Bedell, The Cause of the Greeks, A Sermon . . . on the Occasion of a Collection for the Greek Fund, Philadelphia, 1824, 32 pp.; pp. 24-25 refer to missionary possibilities.*

Missionary activity in the Mediterranean had begun even before 1821. In 1813 the Church Missionary Society's report suggested that the British acquisition of Malta provided a providential opportunity for "extending Christianity in that primitive form of its discipline which is established in the United Empire." Two years later the Rev. William Jowett was sent there; a press was established, the Bible and tracts were circulated, and Jowett made exploratory tours among the Eastern Churches.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, the Orthodox Congregationalists of the American Board founded missions at Malta and Beirut; in 1828 the Rev. Jonas King arrived in Greece with one of the relief shipments.<sup>5</sup>

Wainwright's note is the first indication that the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was contemplating a Greek Mission. Moved, doubtless, by American interest in the country and Episcopalian interest in an Episcopal Church, the Executive Committee took up that matter, and in September, 1828, sent the Rev. John J. Robertson on an exploratory trip. He was instructed to inquire into the condition of the Greek Church and "improve every opportunity for disseminating religious publications." Bishop White provided a letter of commendation, addressed to any Greek bishop he might meet:

The undersigned . . . desires you to present to any such Right Reverend person, the profound respect, and the fraternal affection of a brother bishop in the forty-second year of his episcopacy, and the president of the society in whose service you are about to depart for Greece.

The undersigned recognizes the Greek Church as of apostolic origin, and a sister of the church in which he unworthily holds a conspicuous station. He has for a long time felt a deep interest in the oppression endured by certain portions of the said church, under the Turkish government, and in their persevering attachment to the faith handed down to them by our blessed Saviour and his apostles. He has rejoiced in their late deliverance from that power, and has prayed that it may be permanently established, and that it may be productive of their increase in every grace and in all good works.<sup>6</sup>

Several other bishops added their signatures to this letter. Dated November 22, 1828, it was probably the first official approach of the

<sup>4</sup>Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 3 vols., 1899; vol. i, pp. 219-231.

<sup>5</sup>P. E. Shaw, *American Contacts with the Eastern Churches, 1820-1870*, Chicago, American Society of Church History (cop. 1937), 208 pp.; pp. 71-75.

<sup>6</sup>*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1829*, 60 pp.; pp. 16, 49-51 (these annual reports, with varying titles, hereafter cited as *Proceedings*).

Anglican to the Orthodox hierarchy since Archbishop Wake's letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1725.<sup>7</sup>

Robertson sailed from Boston on January 1, 1829, visited Malta and the Ionian Islands, then a British protectorate, and spent several months in Greece. Returning from Smyrna on September 24, he reached New York on the 4th of December. His report took up most of the *Missionary Paper* of March, 1830. It spoke enthusiastically of the opportunities for distributing the scriptures, opening schools, and operating a press. The Mission should consist of at least two families; Athens would ultimately be the best location for it, though it might be better to begin on one of the islands.<sup>8</sup> Two polite replies from Greek bishops were attached to the report, and extracts from Robertson's journal were published in several successive numbers of the *Paper*.<sup>9</sup> The Greek Mission was undertaken with enthusiasm; the Rev. John H. Hill and a printer, Solomon Bingham, were added to it, and Robertson and Hill spent the summer as agents on behalf of the prospective Mission. On October 1 they sailed from Boston (with Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Hill) after nearly a week of farewell services.<sup>10</sup>

With the missionaries went instructions, drawn up in the name of the Society, but doubtless largely composed out of Robertson's report. They were to settle at a central point and exercise "a moral and religious influence" by schools, a press, and such exercise of the ministry as might be possible. A crucial section, later to be controversial, dealt with their relation to the Greek Church:

you are by no means to say, or write, or do anything which may justly give rise to the impression that you have visited the Greeks for the purpose of introducing another form of Christianity, or establishing another Church, than that in which they have been nurtured. Let it be everywhere known that the Church of which you are presbyters distinctly and fully recognizes the validity of ordination by Greek bishops; that she lays claim to the same undoubted marks with the Greek Church of a primitive and apostolic origin; that she maintains the same three orders of the ministry, the use of a liturgy in the public worship of Almighty God, and many other things which are deemed to be characteristic of Churches of apostolic and scriptural origin. If, in anything, the Greek Church may ap-

<sup>7</sup>Next, apparently, came the letters given to Tomlinson by English bishops in 1840 (P. E. Shaw, *The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church*, Milwaukee, 1930, 200 pp.; pp. 146-9).

<sup>8</sup>Vol. i, pp. 53-63, reprinted in Shaw, *American Contacts*, pp. 171-188.

<sup>9</sup>Vol. i, p. 66; it had to be explained to one Greek bishop that Bishop Griswold's title "Bishop of Rhode Island, etc.," did not mean that we were appointing Bishops in partibus. (Vol. ii, 1831, p. 11.)

<sup>10</sup>*Proceedings*, 1830, pp. 25-27; 1831, p. 24; letter of Alonzo Potter (*Missionary Paper*, vol. ii, March, 1831, pp. 9-10) describing departure.

pear to you to have departed from the purity and simplicity of primitive times, beware how you make them matters of sweeping censure or direct attack. Strive rather, steadily and humbly, in the spirit of the meek and lowly Saviour, to restore those amongst whom you labor to more just notions of the pure, the only correct scriptural standard of Christian doctrines, ceremonies, and practice . . . labor to restore to that people the holy simplicity and glorious purity to that very Gospel which St. Paul preached among them. And cease not your labor and diligence until all her prelates and clergy, and all estates of men within her pale, are brought, in all things essential, into perfect agreement with the Word and Ordinances of the Lord.<sup>11</sup>

## II

John H. Hill, though newly ordained, was several years senior to Robertson, and brought a valuable practical experience to the Mission. Born in New York in 1791, he was a graduate of Columbia College, and had been cashier of a bank and superintendent of St. George's Sunday School. He and his wife (the former Frances Mulligan, daughter of a New York lawyer, and one of the teachers at St. George's) decided to devote their lives to missions. After a year at the Virginia Seminary Hill was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Meade in 1830. He was the first of the many missionaries whom the Virginia Seminary has produced.<sup>12</sup>

The plans of the Mission developed rapidly. After some months at Tenos, the party moved to Athens in June, 1831. On July 18 Mrs. Hill opened a school for girls; a boys' school soon followed, and the press produced various tracts and elementary textbooks. The Hills soon decided that "*female education* is the grand object to which we ought to devote ourselves." The only girls' school in the country was the C. M. S. school at Syra, and the prospective need of teachers for elementary schools promised that an institution which might train them would be both useful and influential.<sup>13</sup> In 1833 a school building was occupied. Bingham had returned to America, and was succeeded by a Greek printer; at the end of 1833 Dr. Robertson and the press moved to Syra. By 1835 the government was using Hill graduates in its own

<sup>11</sup>S. D. Denison, *A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Part I*, New York, 1871, 315 pp.; pp. 142-144.

<sup>12</sup>*Proceedings*, 1882, p. 483; Wallace E. Rollins, "The Missions to Greece," in W. A. R. Goodwin, ed., *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia, New York* (1923-4), 2 vols., vol. ii, pp. 252-270, pp. 253-4.

<sup>13</sup>*Proceedings*, 1832, pp. 43-57; letter from Hill in *Missionary Record*, vol. i, 1833, pp. 164-166.

schools; and the press had issued some 30,000 copies of various publications.<sup>14</sup>

Athens in 1831 was still largely in ruins, but obviously destined to importance as soon as Greek affairs were settled; the Hill household became a centre for the already developing foreign colony, providing such luxuries as the only rocking-chair in town. In February, 1833, the young Bavarian King Otho landed at Nauplia; on April 12 the Turkish garrison left the Acropolis, and in May the King visited his future capital.<sup>15</sup> In March, 1834, he came again to choose a site for a palace. The Hill schoolhouse was found to be the best place for a ball in his honor; the Hills granted permission under protest, in view of their "sentiments as to the impropriety of such amusements."<sup>16</sup> In several public functions the Hill School took a prominent part, as one of the chief institutions of the city. In September, 1834, Otho inaugurated the excavations of the Acropolis, the Hill girls "in white with myrtle boughs tied with the Greek colors on their heads" offering him a wreath. At his coming-of-age on June 1, 1835 (the court had moved to Athens in December) they had a prominent part in the program; and in February, 1837, they welcomed Queen Amalia with a hymn composed by a Greek poet for the occasion.<sup>17</sup>

In the last report of the Missionary Society in its voluntary period (May, 1834, to August, 1835) over a third of the fifteen months' expenditures of about \$30,000 went to the Greek Mission account. Some \$8,000 of this came from specific contributions, often from societies organized for the support of the Greek Mission. One of the most active of these was organized by a certain Mrs. Willard of Troy, New York; it appeared in the report for 1834 with the thoroughly descriptive name, "The Troy Society for the education of females in Mrs. Hill's school, to be sent out from thence as teachers to such parts of Greece as are prepared to receive and appreciate the blessings of Christian education," and an initial contribution of \$515.<sup>18</sup> One of the last acts of the old Executive Committee was to enlarge the staff at Athens by sending the Rev. Hilliard Bryant and three women teachers (Miss Mary Baldwin of Virginia and two sisters of Mrs. Hill's). In June, 1836, the new Foreign Committee presented its first report to the now official Board of Missions. "Greece and the surrounding countries having lost none of their interest as objects of Missionary effort," it was

<sup>14</sup>*Proceedings*, 1834, p. 21; 1835, pp. 37-40.

<sup>15</sup>William Miller, *The Early Years of Modern Athens*, London, 1926, 30 pp.; pp. 1-10.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10; *Missionary Record*, vol. iii, 1835, p. 104.

<sup>17</sup>Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 13, 21; *Missionary Record*, vol. iii., 1835, p. 185.

<sup>18</sup>*Proceedings*, 1834, p. 41; *Missionary Record*, vol. iii, 1835, p. 103; Mrs. Willard's interest perhaps derived from the earlier philhellenic activities of the Albany district (Cline, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-28, 90-92, 133-4).

planning for expansion. The Rev. Horatio Southgate started on a tour of exploration further east. Robertson and Hill concurred in recommending a Mission in Crete, and the committee decided to undertake one, backed by "an affecting memorial" from a Cretan girl in the Hill School.<sup>19</sup>

Athens was growing rapidly, and the schools were filled to capacity. In 1835 Hill reported 250 in the infant school, 75 in the girls' primary, 50 in the girls' high school, and 30 in the "school of industry"; there were 150 in the boys' school, and 30-50 attended a night school "for workmen, soldiers, etc." Eight Greek girls acted as assistant teachers, and were supported by "the ladies of Troy" and other contributors; they and twelve sent by the government received a special course of instruction.<sup>20</sup> As the most available foreign clergyman Hill baptized, married, and buried in English, Greek, French, and German. His Sunday morning services led to the formation of an English Church; ground for a building was bought in 1836. The first entry in the baptismal register of St. Paul's, Athens, is the baptism, performed by Hill, of the daughter of the English consul and his Greek wife. On this occasion Hill used the Greek version of the English Prayer Book; in deference to the Greek grandparents (and as permitted by the rubric) he baptized by immersion.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile at Syra Robertson's energetic spirit was not limited by the prosaic operations of a printing-press. Hill's reports are usually strictly confined to his school; Robertson's are enlivened with descriptions of local churches and customs, reports of pious conversations with Greeks and others, and notes on the weather and the state of his soul. Thus on Good Friday, 1834, the Rev. H. D. Leeves (of the British and Foreign Bible Society) preached to a congregation of 24 in the morning; Robertson spent the afternoon in proofreading, but found that

The subject-matter of the work in hand, however, Robinson's Character of Joseph, gave rise to various useful and consoling reflections.<sup>22</sup>

In 1835 Mrs. Robertson opened a girls' school.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup>*Proceedings, 1836, pp. 76-87, 95-98, 104.*

<sup>20</sup>*Missionary Record, vol. iii, 1835, pp. 184-5.*

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid., p. 206; Miller, op cit., pp. 18-20.*

<sup>22</sup>*Missionary Record, vol. iii, 1835, p. 208.*

<sup>23</sup>*Proceedings, 1838, p. 71.*

## III

Already, however, there were signs of the controversies, Greek and American, which were soon to surround the Mission and put a stop to its expansion. In the early 1830's Greece welcomed foreign assistance in reviving and extending education, and was open to foreign influence of all kinds. But the Greeks might have been startled had they read some of the letters which well-intentioned Americans wrote home about them. Episcopalians of the 1830's, whether High Church or Evangelical, were fairly well convinced of the perfection of Protestant Episcopalianism as they knew it, and hoped for the reformation of the Greek Church along similar lines. A typical report is the long letter which the Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, afterwards bishop of Illinois, addressed to his congregation in Rochester after a visit to Athens in 1834. The Greek Church is "a true and most venerable part of the Church of Christ," but "in a state of depression, ignorance and corruption."

We do not want to convert persons from the established religion, and make them American Episcopalians or Presbyterians. All we desire is, that as many as possible shall be brought directly and indirectly, under the influence of personal piety and sound scriptural intelligence; who may be able and ready to second the movements of a national reform, and perhaps, eventually, be prominent instruments in bringing it about . . . .<sup>24</sup>

Such aims happened to coincide with the church policy of the Bavarian regency of 1833-1835, which had little regard for Greek institutions, civil or ecclesiastical. Its actions in church affairs curiously parallel those of Henry VIII. After government pressure on an assemblage of clergy, the Church of Greece was separated from its former superior and subjected to considerable state control, largely exercised through a lay intermediary. The governing synod, established in 1833, was organized on Russian and in detail on German Protestant models; its first important act was the suppression of the smaller monasteries.<sup>25</sup> Though in practice the Greek Synod worked less oppressively than the Russian, when it was founded there was no telling to what great changes it might lead. Robertson and Whitehouse, perhaps with the English Reformation in their minds, both hailed it as the beginning of a general church reform.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup>*Missionary Record*, vol. iii, 1835, pp. 96-106; pp. 97, 99.

<sup>25</sup>*Chrysostom Papadopoulos (Historia tes Ekklesias tes Hellados)*, vol. i, Athens 1920, xiv-455 pp., pp. 66-110, 133-145; *Max, Herzog zu Sachsen, Das Christliche Hellas*, Leipzig, 1918, 362 pp., pp. 255-268, 286-291.

<sup>26</sup>*Missionary Record*, vol. iii, 1835, pp. 22-24, 100.

After 1835 King Otho's personal government became increasingly Greek in personnel and sympathies. Although there was no constitution until 1844, parties soon formed, in which foreign, domestic, and ecclesiastical questions were inextricably entwined. Those who were Russophile in politics were defenders of strict Orthodoxy in religion, while political liberals and Anglophiles were more friendly to the Protestant missionaries, although even they were by no means prepared to countenance serious changes in the Orthodox system. Two learned clerics, Constantine Oikonomos and Theokletos Pharmakides, were the chief figures in the two parties in the Church. The episcopate and Synod did not come out strongly for one side or the other, and leading men in the University also occupied an intermediate position; among the latter were Neophytos Bambas in the philosophical faculty and the Archimandrite Misael Apostolides, professor of theology, and long afterwards metropolitan of Athens. Bishop Neophytos of Attica, as the see was then called,<sup>27</sup> had at first welcomed the missionaries even in Orthodox churches, and long continued close personal relations with them. But feeling was rising against the Protestant teaching associated with missionary schools, and conveyed in conjunction with the circulation of Bible translations in modern Greek. In 1834 a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew appeared; the Synod condemned this in the following year, the Septuagint being the official version of the Greek Church. While this ecclesiastical censure did not receive civil force, it registered a protest against Protestant propaganda in an Orthodox country.<sup>28</sup>

In 1836 the Patriarch Gregory VI issued an encyclical against non-Orthodox teachers.<sup>29</sup> Popular feeling was roused, and riots broke out at Syra. Robertson was on his way home at the time, but Mrs. Robertson's life was for a time in peril. The Hill School at Athens, however, remained unaffected.<sup>30</sup> In the following years the literary, political, and ecclesiastical conflict continued. Bambas was attacked by Oikonomos for his coöperation in British and Foreign Bible Society translations, and for his part in preparing a modern Greek version of the English Prayer Book, which was suspected of being an entering wedge for liturgical innovations. Hill was careful to note when the version came out that

<sup>27</sup>*Under the law of 1835 sees were gradually to be fused, as the incumbents died or retired, with the new civil provinces in name and area; after the Synod was recognized by the Oecumenical Patriarch in 1850, however, the older form of title was revived and 24 sees established, with the metropolitan of Athens as president of the Synod.*

<sup>28</sup>*Papadopoulos, op. cit., pp. 207-214; Max zu Sachsen, op. cit., pp. 271-2; on the background cf. Papadopoulos, op. cit., and Shaw, American Contacts, passim.*

<sup>29</sup>*Papadopoulos, op. cit., pp. 166-168.*

<sup>30</sup>*Shaw, American Contacts, p. 28; Proceedings, 1837, pp. 81, 89.*

this book of prayer is not offered to the Greek as a substitute for their own, but as an excellent book of devotion for private use.<sup>31</sup>

In 1839 Pharmakides was removed as secretary of the Synod, and transferred from the theological to the philosophical faculty of the University, a change which reflected the decline in influence of his party.<sup>32</sup> By 1842 popular opposition and the government requirement that a Greek catechism be taught in all schools led the American Board to close its schools in the Kingdom of Greece, and withdraw its missionaries, except for Jonas King, who continued to reside at Athens, although he sold his school building to Hill. The Hill School and the C. M. S. institution at Syra were the only surviving missionary schools.<sup>33</sup>

The clarification of the position of Greece as an Orthodox nation only hastened a decision which would have been in any case unavoidable. Eastern Christianity was not going to submit to a Protestant reformation, Episcopal or otherwise. Missionaries to it would have to accept the position of auxiliaries to an Eastern Church, more enlightened perhaps, but not basically changed, or would have to separate evangelical congregations from the ancient Church. The attitude of the Congregationalists was reflected at the Smyrna Conference of 1837, attended by missionaries from Greece and elsewhere, in which the first topic discussed was "the manner of conducting missions among the nominal Christians of Western Asia."<sup>34</sup> King spent the rest of his life at Athens in keeping Protestantism before the Greek mind, and the main efforts of American Congregationalism in the Near East were transferred to Syria and to the Armenians of Turkey. Hill, on the contrary, remained loyal to the principle of non-proselytism embodied in his original instructions, nor was he alone in so doing. Southgate's tour had roused American interest in regions further east, and led the Board of Missions in 1838-1839 to discuss the general principles which should govern "Missionary operations in Foreign countries under Episcopal jurisdiction." In 1838 a committee under the chairmanship of Bishop Brownell of Connecticut presented a long report consisting

<sup>31</sup>*Papadopoulos, op. cit.*, pp. 214-221; *Proceedings, 1841*, p. 65; there had been classical Greek versions of the Prayer Book in 1638 and 1665 and a modern Greek one in 1821; Hill ascribes the 1839 version to Bambas, and Muss-Arnolt to Leeves, who presumably edited it (*William Muss-Arnolt, The Book of Common Prayer Among the Nations of the World*, London, 1914, xxiii-473 pp., pp. 36-7, 41, 140, 147).

<sup>32</sup>*Papadopoulos, op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>33</sup>*Shaw, American Contacts*, pp. 28, 72-82; *Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. 350.

<sup>34</sup>*Shaw, American Contacts*, p. 189.

mostly of information about the Eastern Churches. Its report went to a committee under Bishop Doane, which reported back the next year that no new regulations were necessary, since the Church had continued to follow the "primitive and catholic principle" of coöperation with the national episcopate from the time of Bishop White's commendatory letter in 1828. They recommended, however, that a bishop be consecrated for the foreign Missions, a measure which was carried out in 1844 when Boone was consecrated for China and Southgate for Constantinople.<sup>35</sup> In September, 1840, official contacts between the Church of England and the Church of Greece were opened by the visit to Athens of the Rev. George Tomlinson. He was appointed by the S. P. C. K. after the publication of the Greek Prayer Book in 1839 to inquire into further possibilities of publications for use in Greece, and was provided with introduction from the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London. Tomlinson's episcopal principles were acceptable even to Oikonomos, and his visit was welcomed by Hill at Athens and Southgate at Constantinople; its chief visible result was the publication for the use of the Greek clergy of an edition of the Septuagint from the Codex Sinaiticus, issued under the joint auspices of the Russian and Greek Synods and the S. P. C. K. (1843-1850).<sup>36</sup>

Various changes, not all connected with controversies, took place in the Greek Mission between 1835 and 1840. The Foreign Committee and Dr. Robertson agreed in discontinuing the Mission at Syra at the end of 1838; Greece was by now well provided with presses and, in view of the C. M. S. School at Syra, the school which Mrs. Robertson had started rather incidentally was not a sufficient reason for maintaining the mission. Robertson's interests, moreover, were turning further east, and in 1839 he was transferred, with Southgate, to the new Mission at Constantinople.<sup>37</sup> Crete, on the other hand, seemed to be a favorable sphere of operations. The Rev. George Benton and his wife arrived at Canea on March 12, 1837, and followed a program similar to Hill's. A school was formed, with the support of the Greek and American consuls and, after some hesitation, of the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1840 460 children were under instruction and an assistant teacher had been sent out.<sup>38</sup>

Hill continued on his quiet way at Athens. In 1841 he reported 256 children in the infant school, and 189 boys and 345 girls in ele-

<sup>35</sup>*Proceedings, 1838, p. 22; 1838 (Triennial Meeting), pp. 4-5, 30-85; 1839, pp. 7-12; the committees of 1838-9 included China in their terms of reference, not knowing whether the Nestorian Church in China was still in existence (1838, Triennial Meeting, p. 31).*

<sup>36</sup>*Papadopoulos, op. cit., pp. 323-4; Shaw, Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church, pp. 145-149; American Contacts, pp. 41-2; Proceedings, 1841, pp. 65-6.*

<sup>37</sup>*Proceedings, 1838, pp. 70-72; 1839, pp. 77-79, 82-83.*

<sup>38</sup>*Proceedings, 1838, pp. 72-75; 1840, pp. 64-5.*

mentary and high schools. 23 "beneficiaries" (12 of the government and 11 of the mission) lived with the Hills. The Rev. Mr. Bryant had soon left, and one of Mrs. Hill's sisters was married in 1839, but the foreign staff was replenished by two Englishwomen. A Hill Sunday, as described in 1841, was strenuous enough for all concerned, by our standards. The resident Greek girls went to their own Church early, then returned for family prayer and breakfast, and Sunday School at 9; there were several Sunday Schools, in one of which Hill expounded the Gospel for the day to a senior class. At 11 he attended or preached at the English service, while the Greek girls received "Bible class instruction" at home. At 3 Hill read Evening Prayer in Greek, expounding the Scriptures for about an hour. Dinner was followed by sacred music or religious conversation; after family prayer at 7 the Greeks went to bed, and the Americans went off to Evensong at the house of Mr. Leeves, now the English chaplain in Athens. "Thus are our holy Sabbaths kept, and it is impossible to conceive of anything more delightful on earth."<sup>39</sup>

#### IV

In September, 1841, the *Churchman* published a letter of Mrs. Hill's to her husband, dated June 3, 1841; Hill was then on his way home for the first time since 1830, and on his arrival either he or a friend on his behalf sent Mrs. Hill's letter in for publication with further explanations.<sup>40</sup> The letter described the recently concluded public examinations, which had lasted a week. On the third day the archbishop of Argos, president of the Synod, had attended while Professor Misael examined a class which the Hills had instructed in the Greek catechism (owing to some confusion, the advanced class who had been instructed by a Greek priest were not present). The archbishop then left, giving his blessing with "the *Orthodox* figure" and pausing to congratulate Mrs. Hill on the religious instruction in the school, with which he was perfectly satisfied:

You may be assured, that it was with no common feeling of veneration that I bent over and kissed the hand of the head of the Church in Greece.

Pharmakides and others then proceeded to examine in classics. The covering letter expressed the hope that the efforts of the Greek Mission

<sup>39</sup>*Proceedings, 1837, p. 85; 1839, pp. 75-77; 1841, pp. 61-64.*

<sup>40</sup>*One hesitates to ascribe the covering letter, signed M., to Hill, since it speaks of the "beautiful results of Mr. Hill's instruction."*

will show their effects otherwise than in making here and there a *convert*, while they disgust and alienate the body of the people; who find themselves regarded, not as members of a sister Church, as erring brethren, who require instruction; but as infidels and heathens, who are to be brought within the Christian pale.

In view of the influence of the Hill School and its graduates on the rising generation

it seems not unreasonable to indulge the hope that these schools are to prove the means, under God, of bringing the entire Greek Church into communion with our own.<sup>41</sup>

Well-intentioned as the letter was, it was calculated to produce a crisis. It informed American Evangelicals the Orthodox and not Protestant Episcopal religious instruction was being given at Athens. As an anxious correspondent inquired in the next number of the *Churchman*

Has Mr. Hill become a clergyman of the Greek Church?  
 . . . What is the *orthodox figure*? Are these children taught to cross themselves?<sup>42</sup>

At the other end, such expressions as "erring brethren" gave a handle to the publicists of the anti-foreign party at Athens, who were scanning American papers for unfavorable references to Greece, and saw the letter in a reprint in the *Southern Churchman*. In March, 1842, their organ, the *Aeon*, opened a campaign against the Hill School with an article entitled "Religion Insidiously Undermined," and continued it for some weeks. Threats and appeals were addressed to parents to get them to withdraw their children. Hill was exonerated by the Synod and the Government, and a testimonial from the parents of girls in the boarding school confirmed

how conscientiously you directed the religious instruction of our children from the sacred Catechism of our Church, explained by clergymen of our own, educated at our own Theological School, and preachers of the Word of God in our own pulpits

as well as teaching them the Bible. The *Aeon* transferred its attack to the Synod and the Government, and got into political difficulties. The Hill School continued; but the crisis had injured Mrs.

<sup>41</sup>*Churchman*, vol. xi, September 25, 1841, pp. 113-114.

<sup>42</sup>*Vol. xi, October 2, 1841, p. 117.*

Hill's health, and after the June examinations of 1842 the boarding school and more advanced department were abandoned.<sup>43</sup>

Difficulties of other kinds affected other parts of the Eastern Missions. In 1840 Crete had been returned from the control of Mehemet Ali of Egypt to direct Turkish rule. The result was a rebellion in 1841, which led to a suspension of the school at Canea for several months. It was reopened in September, but on a smaller scale than before and with more doubtful prospects. In the following year Robertson finally returned to America on account of his health and the needs of his family, leaving Southgate alone at Constantinople.<sup>44</sup> There are signs of diminishing interest in the Greek Mission, for which several reasons can be assigned. It was no longer unique, since the African and Chinese Missions had been begun; American interest in the welfare of Greece had subsided; and while the Oxford Movement roused a new interest in the Eastern Churches, Southgate's romantic Mission at Constantinople rather than Hill's school at Athens seems to have been the beneficiary of it. Already in 1838 the Foreign Committee noted that they did not intend to extend the Greek Mission beyond a few central points, since it did not contemplate "the philanthropic design of educating the entire youth of Greece," but rather hoped to stimulate the Greeks to their own exertions; and in 1841 it expressed the hope that the appropriation for Athens, then over \$5,000, could soon be reduced.<sup>45</sup> And now that the Hill School had been publicly declared to be, in effect, an Orthodox institution, Evangelicals were increasingly dissatisfied with it, even though they had been assured that Hill himself yielded to no superstition and, for instance, had no icons in the School.<sup>46</sup>

In 1843, rather yielding to criticism than agreeing with it, the Foreign Committee recommended the reduction of the Eastern Missions. "The views on this subject held by prominent friends of Missions" were so conflicting, that it would be better to concentrate the Church's inadequate funds elsewhere, abandoning Crete and Constantinople, handing the Hill School over gradually to private support, and concentrating effort in the Near East "should such effort be deemed advisable by the Board" on the Syrian Church.<sup>47</sup> When the Board met in June a committee under Bishop Doane vigorously repudiated

<sup>43</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, vol. vii, 1842, pp. 311-317; *Proceedings*, 1843, pp. 63-66.

<sup>44</sup>*Proceedings*, 1842, pp. 51-58.

<sup>45</sup>*Proceedings*, 1838, p. 66; 1841, p. 66.

<sup>46</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, vol. vii, 1842, p. 313.

<sup>47</sup>*Proceedings*, 1843, pp. 62-70; for contemporary discussion of Greek missions from a Protestant point of view cf. Shaw, *American Contacts*, p. 119.

the financial pessimism of the Foreign Committee, and secured the continuance of the Constantinople Mission; but expressed no disagreement with its recommendations about Greece.<sup>48</sup>

## V

The year 1843 marks the end of the active prosecution of the Greek Mission, although the Mission to Constantinople remained a center of interest and controversy until its abandonment in 1850. The Cretan Mission was given up, while the Missionary Society's contribution to the support of the Hill School was reduced to somewhat over \$2,000, at which figure it remained as long as the Mission continued. In Greece the constitution of 1844 marked the end of the tentative period of the modern history of the nation, and Athens, with its Palace, National Bank, Opera House, Observatory, University, and Cathedral reached its maturity as the capital of a modern and Orthodox state.<sup>49</sup> The Hill School was now a leading private school, valuable and useful, but no longer occupying the unique position of its early days. On Palm Sunday, 1843, the present English Church was consecrated by Tomlinson, now bishop of Gibraltar; Hill took part in the services, which were attended by nine Anglican clergymen and several Greek ecclesiastics.<sup>50</sup> In 1845 Hill succeeded Leeves as chaplain, a position which he held for many years.<sup>51</sup>

Visitors to Athens commonly visited the school and eulogized its work; a typical report is that of Bayard Taylor, who was at Athens in the winter of 1857-8; and wrote as follows about the Hills:

I had every opportunity of witnessing the plan and operations of their school, and I know no institution of the kind which is doing a better work. I have frequently had occasion to speak of the inadequate and unsatisfactory results of American missions in foreign lands—results attributable, in many instances, to an excess rather than a lack of zeal. Mr. and Mrs. Hill have confined their efforts to educating for Greece a body of virtuous, refined, intelligent, and pious women, and they have fully succeeded. Proselytism is prohibited by the laws of Greece, and they have not attempted it. They, therefore, enjoy the love and confidence of the whole Greek people, and continue to plant the seeds of a better, purer, more enlightened life, leaving them to ripen in their own time and as God shall direct.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Proceedings, 1843, pp. 13-20, 22-23, 30-32.*

<sup>49</sup>*Miller, Early Years, p. 26.*

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid., pp. 19-20; Proceedings, 1843, p. 66.*

<sup>51</sup>*Rollins in History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia, vol. ii, p. 263.*

<sup>52</sup>*Bayard Taylor, Travels in Greece and Russia, New York, 1859, 426 pp.; pp. 269-270.*

Among the interesting social occasions to which Hill had taken Taylor was the baptism of the first child of one of his former pupils, whom the Hills had brought up, and whose marriage they had arranged. Of another scene of Hill's activities Taylor notes, in a manner more frank than complimentary:

The English Church, of which Mr. Hill is minister . . . is a solid building, of the plainest kind of Gothic, which looks as if it had strayed away from some railroad town in England

as doubtless Victorian Gothic in Athens did.<sup>53</sup> Another eulogist was the future Dean Stanley, who in his *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, published in 1861, uses the Hill School to illustrate the principle that an Eastern Church must be renovated in accordance with its own spirit, not reformed into a different one. Hill was given a copy by Florence Nightingale, and quoted from it in one of his letters home—not, one should add, this passage, but a section on what the West might learn from the Eastern Church.<sup>54</sup> In 1856 Harvard expressed the general admiration by making Hill a Doctor of Divinity.

The opposition at home, however, still continued, but is rather a part of the history of the Episcopal Church than of its Greek Mission. It reached a climax in 1858-1861, when the Rev. C. W. Andrews and Bishop Delancey of Western New York undertook a campaign against the inclusion of the Hill School in the missionary budget of the Church. Andrews, a leader in various Evangelical Societies and active in controversy, had visited the school in 1841, and frankly disapproved of the "inter-ecclesiastical system." He believed we should have a converting mission to the Greeks, if allowed; Delancey held the opposite position, that we had no call to send missionaries to the Greek Church; but both were opposed to supporting a school under the name of a Mission.<sup>55</sup> In 1858 the annual report of the Foreign Committee contained a long defense of the School, laying some stress on the point that the boarding-school, revived in 1853, which was the scene of the criticized teaching of the Greek catechism, was now associated with but not conducted by the Mission.<sup>56</sup> In 1859 the Board of Missions appointed an investigating committee; after two years of

<sup>53</sup>Bayard Taylor, *Travels in Greece and Russia*, New York, 1859, 426 pp.; pp. 54, 78.

<sup>54</sup>Everyman Edition, p. 331; *Spirit of Missions*, vol. xxvi, 1861, pp. 244-5.

<sup>55</sup>Cornelius Walker, *Memoir of the Rev. C. W. Andrews, D. D.*, New York, 1877, 224 pp., pp. 63-4, 201-2; C. W. Andrews, *Historic Notes of Protestant Missions to the Oriental Churches*, Richmond, 1866, 62 pp., pp. 25-27.

<sup>56</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, vol. xxiii, 1858, pp. 558-571.

inquiry it approved of Hill's policy, although Andrews remained unconvinced.<sup>57</sup>

The Greek Mission was by now, however, scarcely part of the Church's active interest, but rather an endorsement of Dr. Hill personally, and it was widely assumed that it would cease with his retirement or death. That it did not was due to his second visit home in 1868, during which he was received with enthusiasm and revived interest in his activities. Columbia College took this occasion to give him an LL. D. When he retired in 1869 the Board of Missions provided a pension for the rest of his life, arranged to pay certain obligations of the school, and continued the Mission under Miss Marion Muir, a Scotswoman who had joined it as a teacher in 1866. On July 1, 1882, Dr. Hill died at the age of ninety-one; the funeral took place with Orthodox and Anglican rites in the English Church, and the professor of theology at the University of Athens delivered a eulogy at the grave.<sup>58</sup> Robertson had died in the previous October at Saugerties, New York, where he had been rector from 1859-1880, at the age of eighty-four.<sup>59</sup> Southgate, himself now seventy and retired from the active ministry, delivered a memorial sermon at Saugerties on October 8, 1882, in which he sketched the history of the Missions to Greece and Constantinople.<sup>60</sup> So passed away, not without honor at the end, the first two foreign missionaries of the Episcopal Church and the leading figures in its Greek Mission. The Mission itself, in the form of an annual appropriation to the Hill School, lasted some years longer. After Miss Muir's death in 1898 it was discontinued, and in 1899 the Greek Mission appeared for the last time in the records of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.<sup>61</sup> The Hill School has still continued, however, as a private institution, and an article about it appeared in the *Spirit of Missions* as late as 1912.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, vol. xxiv, 1859, pp. 523-4, 529, 532; vol. xxv, 1860, pp. 394-396; vol. xxvi, 1861, pp. 308-9, 313, 315; *Andrews, Historic Notes*.

<sup>58</sup>*Proceedings*, 1869, pp. 48-49; 1870, pp. 20-21; obituary of Hill in *Proceedings*, 1882, pp. 483-4; account of the funeral in *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia*, vol. ii, pp. 266-270.

<sup>59</sup>*A Sketch of the First Foreign Missionary of the Church of America, in Soldier and Servant Series*, Hartford, 1902, 14 pp.; residence in Athens under King Otho seems to have been conducive to longevity—the Metropolitan Neophytos was 99 at his death in 1861 (*Papadopoulos, Historia*, p. 433).

<sup>60</sup>Horatio Southgate, *A Discourse in Memory of the Rev. John Jacob Robertson, D. D.*, New York, 1882, 22 pp.

<sup>61</sup>*Proceedings*, 1898, pp. 197-8; 1899, p. 156.

<sup>62</sup>William F. Nichols, "Left at Athens Alone," in vol. lxxvii, 1912, pp. 506-510, with pictures of chapel and classes.

## VI

Probably there is no girls' school whose history touches so many complex issues as did the Hill School at Athens. A full account of it would have required more details than have been given here of politics in the Greek Kingdom and parties in the Anglican Communion, as well as involving such topics as the history of Greek translations of the Prayer Book and the organization of the missionary work of the Episcopal Church. It would be a part of the general story of missions and philanthropy in the Near East; and also have its place in the history of the relations of the Anglican and Orthodox Communions. Both the principle of coöperation which Hill supported and the proselytism which he opposed have left their mark on the Near East. In Greece itself King's lifetime of effort led after 1860 to the organization of a Greek Evangelical Church by his disciple M. D. Kalopothakes.<sup>63</sup> There is something to be said for the idea that the Eastern Churches are stimulated by the existence of Uniat and Protestant minorities; but we may be glad that we did not complicate the religious situation in Greece further by attempting to raise up Greek Protestant Episcopalians.

One cannot help asking whether the Mission might have accomplished more than it did. Hill did not, of course, consider that the running of the school was the sum of its activity. Both through the school and through personal contacts he felt he had a real part in encouraging the more active members of the Church of Greece to revive its energies. Thus in 1861 he claimed some responsibility for the activity of a group of laymen in Athens in practical philanthropy and the distribution of the Bible and other religious literature, and noted an article by one of them in the *Aeon* "of persecuting memory."<sup>64</sup> In 1839 he had proposed adding to his work the secondary education of boys looking forward to the priesthood, but nothing came of it; useful as it would have been, the storms which were raised both in Athens and America by Hill's efforts at the religious instruction of girls would doubtless have become tempests had he been working with pre-theological students.<sup>65</sup> To some extent the existence of the Mission served to interpret Greece and the Greek Church to America, as well as to confer benefits from America on Greece. Any larger schemes along that line would certainly have met the fate which the Constantinople Mission did, which under Southgate planned for a formal co-

<sup>63</sup>On whom see Shaw, *American Contacts*, Chapter vi.

<sup>64</sup>*Spirit of Missions*, vol. xxvi, 1861, pp. 243-4.

<sup>65</sup>*Proceedings*, 1839, p. 62; on the need for better education of the Greek clergy at the time, see Papadopoulos, *Historia*, pp. 324-335.

operation which in the 1840's the Episcopal Church was not ready to extend, nor the Eastern Churches to receive. Hill, as a practical Evangelical Churchman, settled on a job which was worth doing and could be done; and the summary of his life is that he did it well, exhibiting throughout the "unaffected simplicity, zeal, and good sense" which Alonzo Potter noted in his farewell addresses at Boston in 1830.<sup>66</sup>

Two Greek summaries may close this account of an episode in our history which has been concluded and almost forgotten, but deserves to be kept in honor. Professor Papadopoulos, afterwards Metropolitan Chrysostom of Athens, wrote in his *History of the Church of Greece* in 1920:

Of the older educational institutions founded by American Missionaries only the girls' school of J. Hill at Athens kept clear of proselytizing activities; continuing to the present, it has given a Greek and Orthodox education, under Orthodox instructors, to hundreds of the girls of Greece.<sup>67</sup>

This brief summary comes from a recent leader of the Greek Church and friend of the Church of England. His predecessor in the chair of theology, A. D. Kyriakos, spoke more fully in his eulogy at Hill's funeral:

The Rev. Dr. John H. Hill belonged to Greece as much as he did to America, where he was born and educated—for here in Greece he spent the larger part of his life—a life eminently distinguished by his great and valuable services to his adopted country . . . He is the first man who advocated the education of women among us, and the first one who established an institution for their advancement. The "Institution Hill" was the beginning and the proto-type of all the female schools subsequently established among us . . . He revered the Eastern Church by reason of its antiquity, and for preserving the Christian traditions of the first centuries, and he believed that, though wanting in certain respects, it was possible by educating the people and the clergy, to furnish from her own inexhaustible springs what was expected of her. Both Dr. and Mrs. Hill, working in this spirit, educated the women of nearly three generations among us . . . As a minister and as a beloved teacher of the Gospel he ever sought to be the living example of all he taught . . . Hill was, therefore, in a word a true Christian.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup>*Missionary Paper*, March, 1831, p. 10.

<sup>67</sup>Papadopoulos, *Historia*, p. 439.

<sup>68</sup>*History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia*, vol. ii, pp. 268-9.

## EARLY HYMNODY OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

*By Charles Winfred Douglas, Mus. Doc.\**

ON October 14th, 1940, General Convention authorized the publication of a revised Hymnal, with the proviso that the Joint Commission on the Hymnal should be empowered to act finally on requests for the restoration of hymns omitted in their printed Report. The Commission, after careful consideration of all such requests, restored nine hymns, made various minor changes in the wording of hymns, and thus finally established the text of the revised Hymnal.

### I. THE HYMNAL OF 1789

It seems fitting at this time to consider the beginnings of our hymnody and to trace the musical worship of the Church in its earlier days. Our hymnody technically began just 151 years previous to the adoption of the revision of 1940, with the following pronouncement of the first true General Convention, meeting in Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1789.

*"By the Bishops, the Clergy and the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in Convention, this thirteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine;*

"THIS translation of the Whole Book of Psalms into Metre, with Hymns, is set forth, and allowed to be sung in all Congregations of the said Church, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer; and also before and after Sermons, at the discretion of the Minister.

"And it shall be the duty of every Minister of any Church, either by standing directions, or from time to time, to appoint the Portions of the Psalms which are to be sung."

The Hymnal so authorized contained the 150 Metrical Psalms of Tate and Brady, (the so-called New Version), 6 Metrical Doxologies, and 27 Hymns. Of these the Hymnal set forth in 1940 still retains the following:

*\*Historiographer of the Diocese of Colorado.*

## METRICAL PSALMS

- 36 As pants the hart for cooling streams  
 82 O bless the Lord, my soul  
 99 O 'twas a joyful sound to hear  
 105 Lord, for ever at thy side  
 156 God, my King, thy might confessing

## HYMNS

While shepherds watched their flocks by night,	Tate
Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,	Watts
My God, and is thy Table spread,	Doddridge
The spacious firmament on high	Addison
When all thy mercies, O my God	Addison

A further hymn, while not preserved *verbatim* from 1789, is retained in a fresh translation. It is the one strictly liturgical hymn of the Anglican Communion, the *Veni Creator*. The Sternhold and Hopkins version, "alowed according to the ordre appointed in the Quene's maiesties Iniunctions" by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, kept its place in the American Ordinal until the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer, when, at the suggestion of the writer, it was replaced by the version in our present Hymnal: but with the curious omission of the final stanza. The 1789 book gives the entire hymn in a very effective translation: the present Commission has prepared its own version, with great faithfulness to the original.

At this point, it may be well to consider the steps leading up to the adoption of the first official Hymnal, and to appraise the efforts of those great men who made it possible, Dr. William Smith and Dr. (later Bishop) William White. The relationship between them was close. Dr. Smith had been Provost of the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania. Young White was guided by him in theological study for three years, and eventually was ordained in London. After returning to America, White was chosen as the first chaplain of the Congress of the United States in 1777. Two years later he was elected rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and began his career of great leadership in the formation of the future Church in America. In September, 1785, he was chosen chairman of a convention of lay and clerical delegates from seven states, meeting at Christ Church. With the work of this body as to a proposed Prayer Book we are not here concerned: but rather with the fact that a committee was appointed for the selection of additional hymns besides the

modicum of seven then legally in use. It was also proposed to omit some of the metrical Psalms. Dr. White appointed his former teacher, Dr. Smith, on this committee; but the two disagreed emphatically as to hymns. Dr. White never permitted a hymn in Christ Church except "While shepherds watched their flocks by night," on Christmas Day. Later on he wrote, "I give up my sentiment respecting ye hymnifying ye Psalms." The Committee printed, as part of the Proposed Book, 84 Metrical Psalms and 51 hymns. We may justly thank Dr. William Smith for the initial move in uniting, to use his own words, "a selection of the singing Psalms and a collection of hymns," as an authorized, rather than a merely permissive, part of divine worship; which has ever been the policy of our Church.

Dr. Smith, whose contemporary portrait shows a resemblance to those of Washington, profoundly influenced the Church in its formative period by his counsels and actions. He was elected bishop, but never consecrated; partly because of imputations of intemperance, which he always denied. We should honour him, and keep fresh his memory as the true founder of our hymnody.

The Proposed Book, however, was rejected on doctrinal and other grounds. Its Hymnal never came into use. The Convention of 1789, under the very conservative influence of Bishop Seabury, restored the complete New Version of the 150 Metrical Psalms, and, as we have seen, reduced the number of hymns to 27. Thus at the very first was indicated the tendency to reject omissions of the familiar, irrespective of its merit.

Nineteen years later Dr. William Smith's judgment as to the need of more hymns was accepted by the addition, in 1808, of thirty additional hymns to the original twenty-seven. An appended mandatory rubric reads:

"Whenever the Hymns are used at the celebration of divine service, a certain portion or portions of the Psalms of David in metre shall also be sung."

Perhaps this rubric is an indication of the persistent pull against metrical psalmody which had gathered force in English speaking Christianity ever since Isaac Watts, in 1707, had taught that congregational praise should spring from the free movement of hearts and minds toward God; and that the whole body of Church song should be truly Evangelical, expressing the Gospel, not the Law; lest "by keeping too close to David in the House of God, the Veil of Moses be thrown over our Hearts."

Some detailed consideration of these two collections should afford

an interesting commentary on the doctrine and worship of the Church in those early days. Tabulate the book of 1789.

The Christian Year	
Christmas Day,	2 hymns
Good Friday,	1
Easter Day,	2
Whitsunday,	3
Saints' Days,	1
Times and Seasons	
New Year's Day,	1
National,	2
Sacraments and Rites	
Holy Communion,	3
Ordination,	2
Burial,	1
For the Sick,	3
Sea and Land,	2
General,	4

It will be noticed that the three great festivals when Anglican Christians are traditionally bound to receive Holy Communion, and when, to this day, Church attendance is largest, were given proper hymns. Three of these are metrical paraphrases of Holy Scripture; a Christmas hymn from St. Luke, and two Easter hymns precisely rendering the composite Easter Anthems of the Prayer Book. For Whitsunday, the *Veni Creator*, in its doxology, succinctly states the western variant of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, implicit in the Proper Hymns, which speak of both Jesus and the Holy Spirit as "Creator":

"Teach us the Father to confess,  
                     and Son, from death revived,  
 And thee with both, O Holy Ghost,  
                     who art from both derived."

This should remove any suspicion of a Unitarian tinge, which had been charged against the Proposed Book of 1785. The last of the three Whitsunday hymns, an anonymous production of 1733, expressly points out the double function of the Holy Spirit as our Guide and Comforter:

"Thy Motions point us to the Way  
                     thou givs't us Strength to go."

The hymn for Good Friday gives intense personal application to the suffering and death of the Crucified:

“For me these pangs his soul assail,  
 for me this death is borne;  
 My sins gave sharpness to the nail,  
 and pointed every thorn.”

This closely parallels Heerman's great hymn of the Passion in our present book, translated by Robert Bridges, and ultimately derived from St. Anselm:

“Alas, my treason, Jesus, hath undone thee.  
 'Twas I, Lord Jesus, I it was denied thee:  
 I crucified thee.”

Hymn 17, (by Addison) entitled “For the Mercies of Redemption,” closes with a stanza setting forth the reign of the saints in heaven:

“He shows beyond these mortal shores,  
 A bright inheritance as ours;  
 Where saints in light our coming wait,  
 To share their holy, happy state.”

Doddridge's hymn for New Year's Day shows a tendency still operative at the present day to substitute this secular commemoration for the feast of the Circumcision.

From the Proposed Book of 1785 on, the Church had appointed “A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Fruits of the Earth, and all the other Blessings of his merciful Providence.” It is perhaps natural, at the time, that the only Thanksgiving hymn, the anonymous No. 18, should be inscribed “For Public Mercies and Deliverances,” rather than for the fruits of the earth.

The three hymns for Holy Communion suggest various phases of the Lord's Supper. Dr. Patrick, in hymn 9, a paraphrase from the Apocalypse, presents a purely Eucharistic thanksgiving for the eternal sacrifice:

“worthy is the Lamb  
 . . . who for our sins  
 a sacrifice was slain.”

Dr. Doddridge's hymn 10, which we still retain, applies that sacrifice objectively,

“Was not for you the victim slain?”

asserts the real Presence in the sacrament,

"Hail sacred feast, which Jesus makes  
Rich banquet of his flesh and blood."

and further describes the nature of that divine sustenance as the risen life of our Lord,

"The bread that lives beyond the tomb."

The anonymous hymn 11 stresses the Atonement (already set forth in the Good Friday hymn)

"And are we now brought near to God,  
Who once at distance stood?"

and very definitely expresses the sacrament as the extension of the Incarnation:

"Then let us join the heavenly choirs  
to praise our heavenly King;  
O may that love which spread this board  
inspire us while we sing:

"Glory to God in the highest strain'd  
and to the earth be peace;  
Good-will from heaven to men is come  
and let it never cease."

Ordination. The last two hymns are both Scripture paraphrases on "Christ's Commission to preach the Gospel." That of Dr. Watts might well have been used on Ascension Day because of its final stanza:

"He spoke, and light shone round his head;  
on a bright cloud to heaven he rode;  
They to the farthest nations spread  
the grace of their ascended God."

The Burial hymn, No. 25, is entitled "Funeral Consolations." Dr. Watts is here wholesome and joyous.

"Then, joyfully, while life we have,  
to Christ, our life, we sing,  
Where is thy victory, O grave?  
and where, O death, thy sting?"

Three hymns correspond to our present unfortunate section entitled "Visitation," soon happily to disappear. The first specified "For

the Use of the Sick," could with difficulty be called "wholesome," although it does recognize God's blessing on physical remedies and the necessity of faith. But it is not easy to picture a devout invalid praying

"Can such a wretch for pardon sue?  
My crimes, my crimes arise in view;  
Arrest my trembling tongue in prayer,  
And pour the horrors of despair."

The other two are excellent thanksgivings for recovery.

Two hymns for travellers have a lighter touch. Watts, in the first, voices an unusual expression of the unity of all life in praising God.

"The smallest fish that swims the seas  
Sportful, to thee a tribute pays;  
And largest monsters of the deep,  
At thy command, or rage or sleep."

Addison's hymn, "Which may be used at Sea or on Land," expresses deep distrust of foreign travel!

"Though they through foreign lands should roam  
and breathe the tainted air."

Of the remaining four hymns, which may be classified as General, three are Addison's, and are retained in our present Hymnal:

"When all thy mercies, O my God."

"The spacious firmament on high."

"The Lord my pasture shall prepare."

The fourth, entitled "The Christian's Hope," begins as a contemplation of the Last Judgment, and resolves itself into a fervent description of the Bible:

"Then let me love my Bible more,  
and take a fresh delight,  
By day to read these wonders o'er  
and meditate by night."

It may be said of this collection that it is pre-eminently Biblical. One-third of the hymns are scriptural paraphrases, scriptural allusions

and quotations abound throughout. There is no mention of the Church, except by implication: Quite literally, this era accepted the statement of Article VI, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation."

## II. THE HYMNAL OF 1808

Now let us turn to the 30 additional hymns set forth by General Convention in 1808. The same prevailing Biblical tone is preserved, as is evidenced by hymn 52 on "The Excellency and Sufficiency of the Scriptures," and by the inclusion of 12 paraphrases from the Bible. Let us tabulate the additions:

The Christian Year	
Advent,	1 hymn
Epiphany,	1
Penitential, (Lent)	6
Good Friday and Easter combined,	1
Ascension Day,	1
Thanksgiving,	1
Times and Seasons	
Morning,	1
Evening,	1
The Lord's Day	1
Sacraments and Rites	
Holy Communion,	1
Ordination and Institution,	2
Burial,	1
General,	11

It is evident that the first object of the revision was to fill obvious gaps by providing hymns for Advent, Epiphany, the penitential season of Lent, and Ascension Day, thus making a Proper of the Season fairly complete. The Thanksgiving Day Hymn, now that the perils of war had passed, is for the fruits of the earth.

"The summer rays with rigour shine  
To raise the corn and cheer the vine.  
Thy hand in autumn richly pours  
Thro' all our coast redundant stores."

Bishop Ken's beloved Morning and Evening Hymns, already over a century old, but then only recently published in an English Hymnal, formed a welcome and permanent addition. These two, with the Advent hymn "Hark! the glad sound! the Saviour comes", and Dr. Watts' paraphrase of the 100th Psalm, are the only traces of the 1808 addition remaining in the Hymnal.

We are reminded of the Office for the Institution of Ministers, authorized in 1804 and revised in 1808, by hymn 56, "At the Ordination or Institution of a Minister," which mentions apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers.

The Burial hymn, Watts' "Hark! from the tombs a mournful sound," is an appalling contrast to his healthy poem in the book of 1789.

This collection of hymns, with the Tate and Brady Psalms, remained in our Hymnal until 1826. Having dwelt on its immediate formation and on its contents, let us next think of the causes of its vast preponderance of Scriptural paraphrase and consider also its practical use in the parish churches.

### III. HYMNODY OF THE REFORMATION AND COLONIAL ERAS

The rhythmical paucity of the hymns, and, therefore, the meagre provision of music possible for them, are pitiable. Only four of the fifty-seven hymns vary from the conventional Common Metre and Long Metre. Yet at the time of the English Reformation, there was an abundant variety of vernacular sacred song. There were the wonderful fifteenth century Carols, many songs from the English Primers, translations by no less a person than Miles Coverdale, published with tunes, of the early Lutheran Chorales and of hymns adapted from beloved folksong; besides richly varied melodies of Bourgeois from the Genevan Psalter, then becoming known in England.

Alas, the strong Lutheran hymnody failed to become popular, the Carols were abandoned as Papist, and the musical side of the Genevan influence was soon wholly subordinated to that of an erroneous doctrine that only words from the inspired Scriptures might be sung to the praise of God. Calvinism affected the doctrinal formulas and the life of the English Church disturbingly, until finally the Long Parliament abolished Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer in 1645. It also kept English metrical psalmody in the Egyptian bondage of slavery to the letter of the Bible for nearly two centuries, and reduced hymnody to seven hymns. However, these seven included *Veni Creator* with its tune, a translation of *vater unser* with its great tune, and the Genevan *De profundis* with its tune. But our hymnody started with a reassertion of the primary importance of congregational singing, and with the vindication of the principle of using hymns, both original and translated, from every worthy source.

However, in England there was no stirring poet like Luther, no skilled versifier like Clement Marot, no supreme melodist like Louis

Bourgeois, to lift metrical psalmody from the prosaic. Thomas Sternhold, the pious but dull Groom of the Robes to Henry VIII and Edward VI, tried his unaccustomed hand at rendering Psalms in popular ballad form, and thus set the stamp of monotonous metrical uniformity which was continued by John Hopkins and others. The result was *The whole Booke of Psalms* printed with 65 tunes by John Day in 1564, and licensed by Queen Elizabeth. This was the book originally used in America, not only by Churchmen, but also among the Puritans of the Bay Colony. Their ministers were soon dissatisfied with the faithfulness of Sternhold and Hopkins to the original Hebrew, and produced their own version, *The Bay Psalm Book*, in 1640, the first book printed in what is now the territory of the United States. It had not tunes at first, but contained an "Admonition" as to the tunes to be used from other sources, stating that Common Metre, Long Metre, and Short Metre "comprehend almost all the whole book of psalms, as being tunes most familiar to us." An edition of this book printed in 1698 contains thirteen tunes, all in these metres.

The Pilgrims, at Plymouth, had started with a much richer poetic and musical heritage. These Separatists brought with them the Psalter of Henry Ainsworth printed at Amsterdam in 1612. Perhaps you recall Longfellow's description of Priscilla:

"Open wide on her lap the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,  
Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,  
Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the walls of a church-  
yard,  
Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses."

This book contained 39 tunes, largely from French and Dutch sources, to fit its far more varied metres, fifteen in number. Stanzas were long, rather than short, and gave full opportunity for fine extended melodies, some of which we are reviving in the forthcoming edition of the Hymnal.

Ainsworth says this of the music:

"Tunes for the Psalms I find none set of God; so that each people is to use the most grave, decent, and comfortable manner of singing that they know. The singing notes, therefore, I have most taken from our former Englished Psalms (Sternhold and Hopkins) when they will fit the measure of the verse. And for the other long verses, I have also taken for the most part the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalmes."

These three books, with a Scottish variant of Sternhold and Hopkins, supplied the English speaking inhabitants of North America until

the eighteenth century, when the New Version of metrical psalms began steadily to replace them. During the whole period, the tunes were sung in unison, without accompaniment of any kind. As printed copies of either words or music were very few, it became increasingly the custom to follow a custom then common in England: to "line out" the Psalms. The parish clerk or other official read a line, which was then sung by the congregation; the next line was then read and sung, and so on to the end. The pace was lamentably slow; the results bore little resemblance to the art of music. Doubtless the same procedure was resorted to in Maryland and Virginia. There is no question that many of the settlers of this country were skilled singers, and that they contributed much beauty to divine worship. The second and succeeding generations had no such cultural background. Pioneer life gives but little opportunity for the arts. By the time Tate and Brady reached this country, early in the eighteenth century, probably not over fifteen church tunes were known anywhere; and hymnody was at its lowest ebb. The New Version contained but six metres, with but few Psalms outside of the everlasting Common, Short, and Long. But its translations aimed at being poetic rather than merely literal. The psalm was becoming a hymn. Moreover, the 1700 Supplement contained "While shepherds watched their flocks by night," two Easter and three Communion hymns. From this time on, hymnody, as regards both words and music, developed steadily and with ever increasing momentum in England and in America.

In England, a new type of tune developed, flowing melody of plaintive grace and of harmonic richness springing from a feeling far less abstract, far more personal, than the stately dignity of the old Psalter tunes. Jeremiah Clarke, organist of St. Paul's, London, was the inventor of this new style. Such tunes were published in the various editions of Playford's *The Divine Companion*, of *Lyra Davidica*, and of some other books. The popularity of Joseph Addison's poetic psalm versions helped to spread the new melodic style, which reached America and was represented in the 1789 Hymnal. But it was the brave fight of the Independent, Dr. Isaac Watts, kept up through forty years of invalidism, from 1707 on, which won the next great advance in hymnody. He was the true "creator of the English hymn, which is neither an Office Hymn, nor yet a metrical psalm, nor yet again a close paraphrase of Scripture, but a new species, evolved from the last named, and acquiring in the process a novel liberty of treatment and a balanced artistic form." Watts is represented by seven of the hymns of 1789.

In America, an equally important movement, the development of the evangelical hymn, began through a strange leading of divine provi-

dence. John and Charles Wesley, two young priests, whom God raised up to revive in the Anglican Communion a life which was slowly being choked by formalism, frigidity, and Erastianism, crossed the Atlantic in company with David Mitschmann and twenty-six other Moravian missionaries, in 1735, bound for Georgia. The Moravians were to evangelize the Creek and Cherokee Indians; the Wesleys to serve as pastors to the little Church colony who had gone out two years before under General Oglethorpe. They sang together daily, and John first came in contact with the rich treasure of German Pietist hymnody, as well as with that of the early Lutherans and of the Bohemian Brethren. On the third day out he began to study German. Soon, he was translating from Count von Zinzendorf's *Herrnhut Gesangbuch*, whose words and music profoundly affected him. Once in Georgia, he worked incessantly on the preparation of a hymnal for local use. It was tested from manuscript, and printed anonymously as "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Charles-town, 1737." Wesley's extreme strictness brought him into conflict with the Savannah authorities. The Grand Jury indicted him for deviating "from the principles and regulations of the Established Church in many particulars inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of this colony." Two of the particulars were as follows:

"2. By altering such passages as he thinks proper in the version of the psalm, (Tate and Brady) publicly authorized to be sung in the church.

"3. By introducing into the church, and service at the altar, compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature."

The book was withdrawn from use and Wesley soon returned to England. But this little collection of seventy hymns produced in Georgia was the first real Anglican hymnal. It established firmly the eclectic principle somewhat feebly set forth under Queen Elizabeth. It contained translations from the German, hymns by Watts the dissenter, poems by Addison and Herbert, and by Wesley's father and elder brother Samuel. The Good Friday hymn of 1789 is by the latter.

Wesley was succeeded by the Deacon George Whitefield, who was to wield so vast a religious influence both in America and England. The little American book was enlarged and reissued in England, the first of that remarkable series which gave to the world the memorable hymns of personal experience written by Charles Wesley, greatest and most prolific of Anglican hymn writers. The Ascension hymn and the penitential hymns of 1808 were Charles Wesley's; but otherwise,

the hymnody of the Church was unaffected by the Wesleys until 1826. It must be remembered that the Methodist societies in America were only organized about 1766, and that not till 1784 did a small collection of Wesley's hymns reach them.

John Wesley, however, enunciated a principle of hymnody which has profoundly affected its development: the use of the hymn for instruction, for fixing Christian doctrine accurately and indelibly in the minds of the singers. He, perhaps more than any other leader of congregational singing, insisted on the sincere and responsible utterance of the words by each worshipper. The hymn must not be a mere song out of a book, but a personal affirmation of faith, as in the earlier ages of the Church. He would stop the singing in the middle of a hymn, and say, "Do you know what you said last? Did it suit your case? Did you sing it as to God, with the spirit and understanding also?" We need these admonitions today.

#### IV. MUSICAL ADVANCE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Advance in the number and quality of hymn texts was almost wholly with the dissenting churches: but with ourselves, there was definite musical advance during the eighteenth century. Two circumstances promoted it: an increase in the number of available tunes, and the introduction of organs and choirs.

I possess a copy of the Tate and Brady Psalms in use over here about the middle of the century. It contains, as a supplement, 39 tunes, harmonized in three parts, with a letter over each note, F, S, L, or M. It is interesting that this is the method followed in a book which has been accounted the first American agency for the revival of better singing. The Rev. John Tufts was ordained on June 13, 1714, as minister of the church at Newbury, Massachusetts. A few months later he published "An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes in a plain and Easy Method with a Collection of Tunes in Three Parts." In his introduction he says, "The letter F S L M marked on the several lines and spaces in the following tunes stand for these syllables: Fa, Sol, La, Mi." The device was not new, except to America. In my copy of Sternhold and Hopkins (1608), the musical editor says,

"Thou shalt understand, (gentle Reader) that I have caused a new print of Note to be made with letters to be joyned to eurie Note: Whereby thou maiest know, how to call eurie Note by his right name. The letters be these, V R M F S L."

The simplification of this older system adopted by Tufts was to become the basis for teaching singing by note in American rural communities for many a year. He derived his plan of setting in three parts, with the melody at the top, from Playford's Psalter of 1677, definitely designed to supply an easy means of restoring Church Psalmody in England after the Commonwealth. Mr. Tufts was an ardent missionary in the cause of better musical worship, organizing singing schools all over Massachusetts. Even Cotton Mather became interested. Perhaps his lack of humour is evidenced in a diary note after one of these singing schools:

"At night Dr. Mather preaches to the young musicians, from Rev. 14:3—*No man could learn that Song*. Singing extraordinarily Excellent, such as has hardly been heard before in Boston. Sung four times out of *Tate and Brady*."

A later and more extensive tune book by the Rev. Thomas Walters used the notes of the period, instead of letters. It became the standard American choir book for forty years. Before 1800 over forty such collections had been published, chiefly in Boston.

That this swelling enthusiasm for better music, and more extensive provision for learning it profoundly affected the Episcopal Church is further evidenced by the fact that my 1742 Tate and Brady, in addition to its 39 printed tunes, contains also 20 manuscript tunes with such American names as "Deerfield" and "New York," and one copied from Tufts' book, "On the divine use of Musick," besides manuscript settings of "The Song of the Three Children" and of the "Easter Anthems."

Besides the development of choirs, especially among the young, who should not only lead and support the unison of the congregation by singing hymns and metrical psalms in parts, but also provide more elaborate anthems as their special offering of praise, the music of the Church was advanced in the eighteenth century by the introduction of the organ.

In England organs had long been used, but only in cathedral, collegiate and a few larger parish churches. Their use was strenuously opposed by the Dissenters. It was this intense opposition which led to the first possession of an organ by an American parish church. Thomas Brattle, a prominent Boston Congregationalist, imported an organ for his own domestic use. At his death in 1713, his will offered it to the Brattle Square Church, and in case they refused it, to the Episcopalian King's Chapel. This document also provided that whatever church accepted the instrument should "procure a sober person that can play skilfully thereon, with a loud noise." The organ

went to King's Chapel. It is still in use at St. John's, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The second organ installed in an American church was bought by Christ Church, Philadelphia, for two hundred pounds in 1728. It had probably been built in Wissahickon by Christopher Witt in 1704. In 1733, Trinity, Newport, received an organ of thirteen stops under extraordinary circumstances. The Rev. George Berkeley, the philosopher, Dean of Derry, planned with government help to found a college in Bermuda "to supply American churches with pastors of good morals and good learning," and "where a number of young American savages might also be educated." Berkeley came to Newport with his new-married bride in 1728, purchased a farm, and spent an anxious three years in study and in expectation of the grant that was never made. He gave the greatest impulse to higher education ever received in America. Columbia University, formerly King's College, and the University of Pennsylvania, formerly Philadelphia College, where William Smith taught and William White studied, owed much to him. He gave Yale endowments and his library. His name is perpetuated in the university town of Berkeley, California, and in the Berkeley Divinity School at New Haven. But one town named after him, Berkeley, Massachusetts, failed to appreciate his benefaction. On his return to England he sent the town an organ. It was refused, and sent to Trinity Church, Newport.

Other smaller organs were soon installed in Boston and in Salem. In 1741, a pupil of the famous German organ builder, Silbermann, erected a three manual and pedal organ for Trinity Church, New York. And in 1768 the historic St. Michael's, Charleston, imported an organ from England. By 1800 there were perhaps forty organs in American churches.

One development of this period has not, so far as I know, been recorded in recent books. It is that of the barrel organ. This instrument, invented about 1770, solved the often difficult problem of obtaining organists. By a system of metallic pins on a revolving barrel, it could play about ten of the more popular Psalm tunes in various metres. I have seen such an instrument in an ancient colonial church in the State of New York. For the sake of economy some barrel organs had not a complete chromatic scale of pipes, and could, therefore, play only in two or three keys. Occasionally they were made with several interchangeable barrels, giving the possibility of as many as fifty tunes, about the extreme limit of melodies in use at any one Church at this period.

We must remember that the formation of part-singing choirs and the use of organs was strictly confined to the larger parish churches, along the Atlantic seaboard. Elsewhere, there was little if any change in the musical worship of the Church from the days of its greatest poverty. This might not have been the case but for the tragic loss of perhaps one hundred thousand persons in the schism of the Methodist Societies. They had always accounted themselves loyal Anglicans, had attended the parish churches, and been frequent communicants in an age when the Holy Communion was administered only monthly or quarterly. John and Charles Wesley always kept up the custom of Holy Communion on every Lord's Day and Holy Day of the Book of Common Prayer. Their followers were exceptionally faithful in this as in many other things. They made some use of the Wesleys' "Hymns and Sacred Poems," in all probability "lining out" or "deaconing" the hymns in the old way. The development among them of the Pietist idea of "enthusiasm," of rousing emotional feeling in worship, acted somewhat unfortunately in a musical way. John Wesley's musical ideas had been of the highest. He called the great German chorale melody, "*Vater Unser*," now in our Hymnal, "true psalmody." As we have previously seen, he sent over a selection of tunes and hymns to the American Methodists in 1784. At a conference in Baltimore shortly afterward, the questions was discussed, "How shall we reform our singing?" It was answered thus: "Let all our preachers who have any knowledge in the notes, improve it by learning to sing true themselves, *and keeping close to Mr. Wesley's tunes and hymns.*" Italics mine. Had we not lost the Methodists, that whole treasure would have been assimilated in our churches forty or fifty years earlier than was the case. Wesley's successor at Savannah, George Whitefield, visited America in successive evangelistic tours, and finally died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1770, declaring himself as still in the Anglican Communion. He had become Calvinist in his theology. An enthusiastic singer, he did much to familiarize the Methodists and others with Watts' Hymns, which thus became better known among us than those of the Wesleys.

The tragic loss of the Methodists, just after the Revolutionary war, was perhaps surpassed in the cataclysmic changes which followed it. A period of really violent transition began in America, and lasted till long after the close of the war of 1812. Many clergy, great numbers of laymen, who had sided with the mother country, returned to England or migrated to Canada. Popular opposition to the Church, because of its old relationship to the English State, was general. The

savage antagonisms of Federalist and Anti-Federalist filled the young nation with rancor. French infidelity was rampant everywhere. The southern tier of States, once possessed of abundant parishes, was being depleted by western migration to Kentucky and Tennessee, and some thousands were wholly lost to the Church. In Virginia, the Church's property was confiscated, even to the very vessels of the altar. At the beginning of the War of Independence, Virginia had over one hundred and twenty clergy; at the beginning of the War of 1812, less than one-fifth of that number.

Under such circumstances, what wonder that church music should be at a standstill, and that the vast body of church hymnody should be represented only by the 150 metrical psalms, relic of a swiftly dying past, and 57 hymns, harbingers of the great tide which was to bring the richest treasures of every Christian age, of "all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues" into our Hymnal within a century and a half! The tide was even then rising unperceived. Oliver Holden had composed the first famous American hymn tune, "Coronation;" Holyoke had published the first great collection of tunes in our country; Dr. Jackson, organist of Trinity Church in Boston, had written excellent Service music, as had John Cole and Christopher Meinecke at St. Paul's, Baltimore; Thomas Hastings and Samuel Dyer and Lowell Mason had begun their transforming work; and William Augustus Muhlenberg, newly ordained in 1817, had begun the compilation of his epoch-making anthology of psalms and hymns, "Church Poetry" which was to eventuate in 1826 in the Prayer Book Collection, our first true Hymnal.

## EARLY MISSIONARIES IN TEXAS, WITH DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF RICHARD SALMON'S CHURCH COLONY

*By Andrew Forest Muir\**

THE first missionary sent to the Republic of Texas by the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions was the Reverend Caleb S. Ives, who arrived in Matagorda in December, 1838.<sup>1</sup> Ives was not, however, the first priest of the Episcopal Church to set foot in Texas. At least three preceded him, two of them during the time the area between the Sabine and the Rio Grande was a part of Mexico, whose constitution forbade any religion other than the Roman Church.

The first of these was John Wurts Cloud, born in Savannah, Georgia, the 15th of February, 1797, son of the Reverend Adam Cloud and Mary (Grandine) Cloud.<sup>2</sup> John Wurts was graduated with a bachelor of arts degree from Yale College in 1823.<sup>3</sup> After some theological training, he was made a deacon by Thomas Church Brownell, bishop of Connecticut, in Hartford, on the 4th of January, 1826.<sup>4</sup> Immediately afterwards he moved to Mississippi. For two years he was in charge of St. John's (now St. James') Church, Port Gibson, and on the 17th and 18th of May, 1826, he sat in the convention which sought and secured recognition for the diocese of Mississippi by the General Convention.<sup>5</sup> He returned to the North in 1828 and secured appointment as missionary at Onondaga Hill, New York. At that place, on the 11th of September, 1829, he was ordained priest by John Henry Hobart, bishop of New York.<sup>6</sup> Not long after his ordination,

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<sup>1</sup>For a good account of Ives' priesthood in Texas, see DuBose Murphy, *A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas* (Dallas, Turner Co., c. 1935), pp. 1-4. However, Mr. Murphy's treatment of John Wurts Cloud and Richard Salmon is most unsatisfactory. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 9.

<sup>2</sup>Recollection of John Wurts Cloud's posthumous daughter, Mrs. Edward Taylor Moore, Austin, Texas. Miss Myrtle Cloud, niece of Mrs. Moore, to Andrew Forest Muir, 26 November, 1940.

<sup>3</sup>Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, with Annals of the College History, 1701-1815. Supplement, 1815-1884* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1913), p. 104.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* Also, Burgess' "List of Deacons," No. 645, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi. Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Mississippi (Jackson, Mississippi Historical Records Survey, 1940), p. 3, 44.

<sup>6</sup>Dexter, *Biographical Sketches* . . . p. 104.

Cloud, in ill-health, removed to Stephen F. Austin's colony in the State of Coahuila and Texas, Republic of Mexico. On the 13th of May, 1831, he purchased from William and Hetty Stiles a quarter league of rich Brazos bottom land in the Municipality of Brazoria.<sup>7</sup> Dubbing his estate Buenaventura, he set himself up as a gentleman planter, engaging in what limited politics the Mexican authorities permitted.<sup>8</sup> While there are no recorded instances of his exercising his sacred calling, he must have done so, for those who knew him at this time speak of him as a clergyman and a preacher.<sup>9</sup> One can hardly doubt that he read the burial service for his father and his first wife, who died shortly before the Texas' Declaration of Independence. Perhaps he baptized his older child and the children of neighbors.

In 1832 the smoldering mutual resentment of Mexicans and Anglo-Americans burst into flame. At Anahuac a number of prominent citizens, some of them later to be immortalized at the Alamo, were imprisoned by an arbitrary Mexican official. Discontent spread to Brazoria, where a citizens' meeting appointed a committee of five, one of them Cloud, to decide whether the colonists should evict the Mexican authority from Velasco, at the mouth of the Brazos River.<sup>10</sup> Though at first opposed to this drastic measure, Cloud was soon converted, and the committee unanimously voted for war. A company of about one hundred and twenty, including Cloud, marched to Velasco and on the 26th of June expelled the Mexican garrison.<sup>11</sup> Though serving as a private during the battle, Cloud, on the second day afterwards, was elected commander of the third division of the volunteer army.<sup>12</sup> He apparently had nothing to do but march the men home, for with a coincidental political change in Mexico, friction between Mexicans and colonists temporarily disappeared, only to be revived three years later when Santa Anna's political ambitions precipitated the Texan Revo-

<sup>7</sup>*Deed Records of Brazoria County, Texas* (MS. Brazoria County Clerk's Office, Angleton, Texas), B, 296.

<sup>8</sup>The Mexicans did not encourage Anglo-American participation in politics. There were few political positions. Juries were exceptional. Cloud served as juror in the case of the State of Coahuila and Texas vs. William Chephas, 8 September, 1832. *Inventory of the Colonial Archives of Texas, 1821-1837: Brazoria* (San Antonio, Texas, Historical Records Survey, 1937), p. 35. He was arbitrator in the case of E. Jeffrey vs. D. W. Anthony, T. F. L. Parrott, and E. St. John Hawkins, 6 March, 1834. *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>P. E. Pearson (ed.), "Reminiscences of Judge Edwin Waller," *Texas State Historical Quarterly*, IV (1900), 36. John Henry Brown, *History of Texas from 1685 to 1892* (St. Louis, L. E. Daniell, c. 1892), I, 186.

<sup>10</sup>Pearson, "Reminiscences of Judge Edwin Waller," page 36.

<sup>11</sup>Agreement, *Organizing a Part of Military of Austin's Colony*, Charles Adams Gulick, Jr. (ed.), *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (Austin, Texas State Library, 1922), I, 97. *Muster Roll in Camp Near the Mouth of the Brazos June 25th, 1832. ibid.*, I, 103. *List of Men in Camp—Thursday, 28th, 1832, ibid.*, I, 107.

<sup>12</sup>*List of Individuals in Five Divisions, ibid.*, I, 112.

lution. In this conflict, too, Cloud served in the army.<sup>13</sup> On May 19, 1839, Bishop Leonidas Polk, on his first missionary tour of Texas, visited Cloud at the latter's plantation and baptized his infant child.<sup>13-a</sup>

After the Revolution, Cloud's financial losses were numerous and severe.<sup>14</sup> He died at Chappell Hill, Washington county, on September 15, 1850.<sup>15</sup>

John Wurts Cloud had not remained for long the only priest of the Episcopal Church in Texas. Shortly after his removal, his father, the Reverend Adam Cloud,<sup>16</sup> also emigrated. Born in Delaware on the 30th of December, 1759, he became a member of the Methodist Society in 1781 and for seven years travelled as an itinerant preacher. Probably unsuccessful as a Methodist, Cloud, after his marriage to Episcopalian Mary Grandine in 1788, withdrew from the Methodist ministry and entered the Episcopal Church, presumably being ordained priest. In 1792 he settled on St. Catherine's Creek, about two miles from Natchez in what is now Mississippi. While both the United States and Spain claimed this territory, Spain was in actual possession and control. Very soon, Cloud ran into difficulty with the Spanish civil authorities and the Roman Catholic ordinary. Given the alternative of being sent to Cuba for trial by an ecclesiastical court for propagating heresy or of leaving Spanish dominions forever, Cloud took the latter choice and moved to Georgia, in which state and in South Carolina he exercised his priesthood until 1816, when he returned to the Natchez area, now safely a part of the United States. At Church Hill, Jefferson county, he organized Christ Church, the first parish in Mississippi, and served as rector until old age and declining health motivated his retiring. In 1829 he was ill,<sup>17</sup> but his health so improved that in April, 1833, he removed to Texas,<sup>18</sup> where he remained until his death in Brazoria, on the 26th of May, 1834. While there is no evidence that he violated the Mexican laws prohibiting religious services other

<sup>13</sup>Bounty Warrant No. 8066 (MS. General Land Office, State of Texas, Austin).

<sup>13-a</sup>General Convention Journal, 1841, p. 161.

<sup>14</sup>The records of the district courts of Brazoria and Harris counties contain more than two dozen suits in which judgment was rendered against Cloud.

<sup>15</sup>Texas State Gazette (Austin) II, 102 (16 Nov. 1850, column 1). In Dawson D. Crumpler's application for letters of administration upon Cloud's estate, 19 July, 1852, he stated Cloud had been dead about eighteen months. Probate Records of Washington County, Texas (MS. Washington County Clerk's Office, Brenham).

<sup>16</sup>John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis, P. M. Pinchard, 1866), pp. 92-97. Unless otherwise noted, all information about Adam Cloud is from this work.

<sup>17</sup>William A. Beardsley (ed.), "Bishop Thomas C. Brownell's Journal of His Missionary Tours, 1829 and 1834," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII (1938), 312.

<sup>18</sup>John W. Cloud vs. The State of Texas (MS. District Clerk's Office, Angleton), Case No. 1331, Petition.

than those of the Roman Church, his early experience and evangelical zeal make one believe that his crossing an arbitrary boundary did not alter his status as a man of God.

Though the Clouds were apparently the only priests of the Episcopal Church to go to Texas during the colonial period, they were not the only ones attracted by the new Canaan. In Syracuse, New York, the Reverend Richard Salmon was acutely interested, but he did not emigrate until the Republic of Texas replaced the State of Coahuila and Texas.

Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1797, the son of Richard Salmon, the younger Richard received B. A. and M. A. degrees from Hobart College and studied theology at the General Theological Seminary.<sup>19</sup> On the 21st of September 1823 he was made a deacon by Bishop Hobart,<sup>20</sup> and three years to a day later ordained priest.<sup>21</sup> For twelve years he served churches and missions in and about Syracuse.<sup>22</sup> By 1834 his position in New York had become untenable. Both he and his family were sorely afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis.<sup>23</sup> In addition, his salary was far in arrears, and he could not meet his financial obligations. One merchant had judgment against him, and another, one of his vestrymen, threatened suit.<sup>24</sup> Though he begged his vestrymen to pay enough of his stipend to meet his debts, they did not oblige. Disgusted, Salmon looked about for an escape. He soon found it in Texas.

Salmon probably knew John Wurts Cloud when Cloud was missionary at Onondaga Hill, only a few miles from Syracuse. One wonders whether Cloud may have sent letters from Texas to arouse Salmon's interest. Salmon was certainly acquainted with Augustus Chapman Allen and John Kirby Allen, brothers who moved from central New York in 1832 to become successful entrepreneurs in Nacogdoches, Texas.<sup>25</sup> From them, and others no doubt, he received glowing ac-

<sup>19</sup>MS. Records of Hobart College. H. C. Durston to Andrew Forest Muir, 31 January, 1941.

<sup>20</sup>Burgess, *List of Deacons*, No. 572, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup>Bishop Hobart sailed for Europe three days after ordering Salmon deacon. He did not return until October, 1825. In the 1826 diocesan journal, he stated that he ordained Salmon to the priesthood, but he does not give the date. He confirmed a class at Geneseo, York, where Salmon was stationed, 21 September, 1826, and it is safe to assume that he ordained Salmon at this time.

<sup>22</sup>Apostolic Church, Geddes; Grace Church, Baldwinsville; St. Paul's Church, Syracuse; Geneseo; Warsaw; Watertown.

<sup>23</sup>Document No. 8. See below.

<sup>24</sup>William M. Beauchamp, *The Apostolic Church, Geddes* (MS. Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York).

<sup>25</sup>"I take the opportunity of writing you a few lines by your friend, the Rev. Mr. Salmon, who leaves here in the morning for Texas. [.]" A. J. Yates to A. C. Allen, Baltimore, 5 April, 1836. George P. Garrison, (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas in Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1907* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908), I,

counts. His enthusiasm fired, he became an ardent supporter of and propagandist for Texas. He published an abstract of works on Texas and contributed original articles to newspapers of central and western New York.<sup>26</sup> Soon he began to dream of a Church colony in Texas, with himself as pastor and schoolmaster. By autumn, he had succeeded in interesting fifty married mechanics and farmers. Only the lack of funds prevented the colony from starting in November, 1834. In an effort to overcome this obstacle, he went before the General Convention meeting in Philadelphia in August, 1835, and pled for the Convention's blessing and financial aid. According to his statement (for the Convention journal does not mention him), he received hearty approval but no money. Thirty-five of the families became discouraged and withdrew from the project.<sup>27</sup> Salmon, however, turned to the exploitation of other resources.

By the provisions of its liberal colonization law, Mexico authorized empresarios (contractors) to move into northern Mexico and to colonize a specified number of families. Every family head settled under this plan should receive from the government a league (4,428.4 acres). Though the empresario had no title to any part of the leagues granted to his colonists, when he had settled the required number of families he received from the government a large tract of land. Conceivably, a sub-contractor might have agreed to colonize a fraction of the total number of families, perhaps receiving for his troubles, from the empresario, a sum of money or, if he were a Mexican citizen, a portion of the land granted to the empresario on fulfilling the contract. However, only Mexican nationals could own land.

On the 28th of November, 1835, Samuel May Williams, agent and attorney for Stephen F Austin, granted to John White of Syracuse permission to introduce into Austin's colony before the first of April, 1836, fifteen married families.<sup>28</sup> White, in turn, granted Salmon a half interest in the contract with Williams. White should advance Salmon \$2,000, and Salmon should take with him to Texas the fifteen families. Salmon also agreed to give White one-half of the league that the Mexican government should grant him.<sup>29</sup> Then jointly White

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79. *Augustus Chapman Allen (1806-1864) married Charlotte M. Baldwin, daughter of Dr. Jonas C. Baldwin, proprietor of Baldwinsville, New York, in 1831. Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, The Writings of Sam Houston (Austin, The University of Texas Press, 1939), II, 181-183. John Kirby Allen (1809-1838) was a native of Orrville, only a few miles from Syracuse. Ibid., pp. 100-101. For biographical sketches of Texans of less than national importance the footnotes of this work are valuable. However, the index has not yet been published.*

<sup>26</sup>Documents Nos. 3, 4, 8. See below.

<sup>27</sup>Document No. 8. See below.

<sup>28</sup>Quoted in Document No. 1. See below.

<sup>29</sup>Document No. 1. See below.

and Salmon contracted to provide transportation for fifteen families, receiving in return deeds to slightly more than three-quarters of each league granted to a family head by the Mexican government.<sup>30</sup> By this arrangement White and Salmon should each receive about 27,459 acres.

At this distance it is impossible to determine whether White was knave or fool, whether he knew that by Williams' contract he received not one *vara* of land but hoped, by contractual manipulation, to dupe others into parting with a fraction of their acres; or whether he suspected he had some title to the land, a title he could make good by settling colonists. Innocent Salmon probably never understood the Mexican law. The contracts made with the fifteen families could never have been enforced. No United States court had jurisdiction, and no Mexican court would have gone behind the provisions of the colonization law.

Despite the technicalities involved, the colony was ready to move on this basis. On the 24th of February, 1836, the colonists left Syracuse and arrived six days later in New York City. After a two weeks' delay there, the fifteen families procured passage for New Orleans. Salmon and his family went overland to Baltimore, where he met Stephen F. Austin. Though the extant contract does not bear Austin's signature, Salmon stated that Austin approved the colony and signed the contract. On the 6th of April, Salmon left for Wheeling, Virginia, there taking passage on a river steamer for New Orleans, where he met his colonists, battered by a stormy passage of four weeks.<sup>31</sup>

At New Orleans, he learned that the situation in Texas was critical. The Texan force at the Alamo had been totally destroyed. Texan prisoners captured at Goliad had been executed under Santa Anna's order. Great numbers of Anglo-American settlers west of the Trinity River were fleeing toward the United States border. Sam Houston himself was beating a hasty retreat to the Trinity: the Runaway Scrape was in active progress. So inauspicious was the time for moving to Texas that Salmon temporarily settled some of his families in New Orleans and some on land owned by A. C. Allen and E. A. Baldwin near Natchez. During this period, death removed several family heads and a number of children. Salmon occupied his time in raising recruits for the Texas army. With his own funds he fitted out three volunteers.<sup>32</sup>

While Salmon was thus busily engaged, General Houston met Santa Anna at San Jacinto on the 21st of April and destroyed the

<sup>30</sup>*Document No. 2. See below.*

<sup>31</sup>*Document No. 8. See below.*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

Mexican army. Mexico was impotent to hinder Texan independence and offered only formal protest at the establishment of the Republic of Texas. Anglo-American settlers returned to their homes and resumed their spring planting which had been interrupted by the invading army. Though lawlessness was characteristic of this period, thousands moved from the United States to Texas.

In October, Salmon and seven families left New Orleans and landed at Velasco. Though no leagues of land were forthcoming, apparently the seven families made satisfactory arrangements for themselves. On the 17th of November, Salmon was invited to alternate with a Presbyterian minister as chaplain of the Senate meeting at Columbia. In addition to praying before the Senate, he preached on Sundays and officiated at a number of funerals, including that, on the 29th of December, of the illustrious Stephen F. Austin. At the close of the session, he made a contract with Sterling Clack Robertson to locate twenty families upon Robertson's empresario grant. Though drawn up by District Judge Shelby Corzine, the contract was worthless, for Congress had invalidated all empresario grants. However, before Salmon learned this, twelve of the twenty families arrived at Velasco in July, 1937. When they learned that Robertson had no land to give away, they unjustly censured poor Salmon who had relied utterly upon Corzine's advice.<sup>33</sup>

In April, 1837, Salmon brought his consumptive family from New Orleans and settled them at Brazoria. For nearly two years both he and they were ailed, and he could exercise neither his priesthood nor his pedagogy.<sup>34</sup> Their health so improved by the first part of 1839 that Salmon accepted appointment as principal of the city school in Houston, a town founded in 1836 by Salmon's friends, A. C. and J. K. Allen. The school opened on the 11th of February, with Salmon himself prepared to give instruction in Greek, Latin, and the higher mathematics.<sup>35</sup> For almost a year his persistent financial troubles appeared at an end, but the inevitable storm clouds were already forming. On the 16th of January, 1840, the board of aldermen appointed a committee to investigate Salmon's conduct and accounts and "to inquire what is necessary to be done in order to correct supposed evils for and during the year 1839."<sup>36</sup> The committee's report is not available, but no doubt it was unfavorable, for Salmon tendered his resignation at the same meeting at which the report was received and adopted.

<sup>33</sup>*Document No. 8. See below.*

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>*Document No. 7. See below.*

<sup>36</sup>*Document No. 11. See below.*

Needless to say, the resignation was accepted.<sup>37</sup> For two months Salmon attempted without success to secure payment of his account.<sup>38</sup>

Of his later life, practically nothing is known. Not long after his resignation he returned to New York, for on the 29th of December, 1842, he, in Syracuse, wrote a letter to the vestry of St. Paul's Church, asking payment of seventy dollars promised him in 1835.<sup>39</sup> In July, 1849, he died in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, while on his way back to Texas.<sup>40</sup>

As early as 1856, his widow, Delia (Smith) Salmon, was living in Decatur, Wise county, Texas.<sup>41</sup> In 1860 she filed suit in the Court of Claims for the land due Salmon under the act of the Texas Congress granting 1,280 acres to a family head settling in Texas between the 2nd of March, 1836, and the 1st of November, 1837. The Commissioner of Claims granted her a certificate for two sections on the 21st of February, 1861,<sup>42</sup> and she located the land in Wise county.<sup>43</sup> In 1878, in addition to his widow, Salmon was survived by a son, Granger Salmon, also of Wise county.<sup>44</sup>

Though Salmon was unsuccessful in establishing a Church colony in Texas and though he failed in his academic and clerical attempts, yet his papers illuminate the chaotic conditions in Texas and graphically portray the problems incidental to colonization. In spite of his numerous disappointments, Salmon apparently never lost faith in Texas. Even after his death, his wife and family returned to their "adopted land." If he ever altered his opinion of Texas, the record does not survive. Though Salmon never founded any parishes, he baptized the young, married the betrothed, and buried the dead. No doubt he brought the services of the Book of Common Prayer to many who had been deprived of them for a long time. Who can say his efforts were wasted?

<sup>37</sup>Document No. 12. See below.

<sup>38</sup>Documents Nos. 13 and 14. See below.

<sup>39</sup>Beauchamp, *The Apostolic Church*, Geddes.

<sup>40</sup>Date: Burgess, *List of Deacons*, p. 12. Place: Testimony of his nephew, Richard S. Hunt, in Fannin County Court, 21 August, 1860. Court of Claims, Richard Salmon (MS. General Land Office, Austin).

<sup>41</sup>Affidavit of A. Bishop and John W. Hale, 11 March, 1878. Fannin County, 2nd Class (MS. General Land Office, Austin), No. 661.

<sup>42</sup>New Docket of the Court of Claims (MS. General Land Office, Austin), page 43.

<sup>43</sup>Fannin County, 2nd Class (MSS. General Land Office, Austin), Nos. 623, 625, 627, 661, 680, 771.

<sup>44</sup>Affidavit of A. Bishop and John W. Hale.

**DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF RICHARD SALMON'S CHURCH COLONY**Document No. 1.<sup>45</sup>**CONTRACT BETWEEN JOHN WHITE AND RICHARD SALMON,  
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK, 15 FEBRUARY 1836.**

Whereas, John White, of the State of New-York, one of the United States of the North, did on the twenty-eighth day of November one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, receive from the hand of Samuel M. Williams, for himself and Stephen F. Austin, citizens of Coahuila and Texas, in the Republic of Mexico, a contract or instrument in the following words, viz:

Be it known, that Samuel M. Williams for himself and Stephen F. Austin, both citizens of the State of Coahuila and Texas, in the Republic of Mexico, do agree to admit and receive as settlers in the Colony which they are authorized to establish in Texas, fifteen married families, which Col. John White of the State of New-York proposes to introduce into that country.

The Colonization Law grants to every family one league of Land, (4,428 acres.) The expenses on the land to be paid by the families or by Col. White. The families to be in Texas by the 1st of April next, and are to be provided with testimonials of good character and industrious habits. *New-York*, 28th Nov., 1835.

Samuel M. Williams for self and S. F. Austin.

And Whereas, said John White and Richard Salmon did on the fifteenth day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, at the village of Syracuse in the county of Onondaga and State aforesaid, make and enter into the Indenture of Agreements and covenants in the words following:

THIS INDENTURE OF AGREEMENT, made and entered into this fifteenth day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, by and between John White and Richard Salmon of the said State of New-York, WITNESSETH—That the said John White for and in consideration of the premises, covenants and agreements hereinafter contracted by and between the said White and Salmon, to be kept and performed, does hereby agree that he, the said Salmon, is and shall be entitled to one equal undivided half of said White's interest in said contract so executed and delivered by Samuel M. Williams, for himself and Stephen F. Austin, to the said White, and to the premises therein specified as fully as though the same had been executed to and in the name of said John White and Richard Salmon. Said White agrees to pay and advance to said Salmon towards the expenses of introducing families to said Lands, under the Colonization Laws of that country, for such fifteen married families, the sum of Two Thousand Dollars, in the manner & at the times following:—Five hundred dollars on or before the day such number of families shall start for New-York; Five hundred dollars on or before the day they embark from the city of New-York for Texas, and will accept and pay said Salmon's draft on him at four months from date for Five hundred dollars; which draft shall be made after the said Salmon and said families shall have arrived in Texas; and will accept and pay said Salmon's draft on him for Five hundred dollars at four months from date, which latter draft shall be made after said families shall have duly located on said Lands—both of which drafts shall be drawn on him

<sup>45</sup>Attached to *petition of Richard Salmon. Memorials & Petitions, Congress of the Republic of Texas* (MS. Archives, Texas State Library, Austin).

the said White in the city of New-York, and made payable at the *Merchants' Bank* in said city of New-York. It is, however, hereby provided that should the said Salmon not succeed in so collecting and duly locating that number (fifteen married families) the said White will only be bound to pay in proportion of two thousand dollars for fifteen married families, and no more. Said Salmon agrees to collect, the number of such families as named in said contract, or as near that number as it may be in his power, to accompany them to Texas and to locate said lands and said families on the same as contemplated by said White & Williams under and by virtue of said contract and the said Salmon agrees to domicil and reside in Texas himself and to do all other lawful acts and things in his power necessary to secure all and singular said lands to said White and himself their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, and the said Salmon agrees to pay all expense on said lands as mentioned in said contract, except the amount hereinabove provided to be paid by the said White and to cancel and pay all further expenses and obligations which may arise on account of said contract and enterprise, or by reason of all or any contracts hereafter to be made and executed by said White & Salmon with individuals or families which shall be obligated to emigrate and locate on said lands, and to do all acts as fully and lawfully as said White could do to procure direct to them the said White & Salmon from the *Empresarios*, from the government or legal authorities, (should the laws of the country be such or so altered as to permit,) a perfect and indefeisible title as tenants, in common, in interest and in possession in said lands, direct to them the said White & Salmon, their heirs and assigns forever. Should it however be found that said conveyances must, in pursuance of the Laws of that country, be made to the emigrants or settlers located by said White and Salmon, or by said Salmon, on said lands or other places in Texas, in order to a legal and perfect chain of title to them the said White & Salmon; or should it be found that said White cannot, if an alien, legally receive and hold such conveyance or conveyances, then a deed or deeds, conveyance or conveyances, shall be legally made and executed to some safe person or persons in trust for said White, his heirs, executors, administrators and assign, or such further and other steps shall be taken as shall be necessary to secure to said White, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, the equal undivided half of all such lands. The said White & Salmon yielding to each and every of their colonists, emigrants, or settlers, on said lands, (one family, only, to a league,) the quantity or quantities as shall hereafter be contracted by said White & Salmon with said colonists, emigrants, or settlers.

And the said Salmon agrees that, should he succeed in securing as a colonist, for himself, as a married man, another and extra league of land, or any other quantity, by authority or contract, to introduce families under the colonization laws of that country, and which he hereby agrees to use all lawful measures to do, he, the said Salmon, will, when called on so to do by the said White, or his legal representatives, execute, (and, if necessary, his wife shall do so) acknowledge and deliver in sufficient and due form all such documents, instruments and papers as shall be necessary and proper to invest and secure in and to the said White and his legal representatives, the possession, right, title, interest, claim, and demand, as well in law as in equity, all and singular the equal undivided one half of such last mentioned league or other quantity of land, they the said White & Salmon yielding to those families or individuals, the quantity or quantities hereafter stipulated to be given by the said White & Salmon as inducements to such families and individuals to locate and cultivate the same—thereby aiding

to secure to the said White and Salmon, and them or him (such colonists) such quantity or quantities of lands.

In testimony whereof, The said parties bind themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, each to the other and have hereunto affixed their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore mentioned.

JOHN WHITE [L. S.]

RICHARD SALMON [L. S.]

Acknowledged and delivered

in presence

S. BLACKMAN

WM. H. HUNT

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Document No. 2.<sup>46</sup>

CONTRACT BETWEEN JOHN WHITE, RICHARD SALMON, AND  
ALLEN C. WILBUR, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK,  
23 FEBRUARY 1836

And Whereas, The said White & Salmon duly impressed with the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the country, the salubrity of the climate, and the great and growing advantages of the country under the liberal and enlightened policy evidenced and secured by the colonization laws, and anxious to become interested in that country and to profit by these advantages; they, therefore, now desire to procure emigrants with a view to colonizing, settling, and securing to themselves and emigrants, and for such further locations as contemplated and specified in the foregoing agreement between themselves. Those who embark in this enterprise, and agree to locate, must bear in mind the requisite testimonials of good moral character and industrious habits; and that by the Mexican laws, actual possession and cultivation of the land, by the number of families, and within the period limited, is essential to the security of their locations under the laws, which though they (the present laws) discourage the holding of legal possession by non-residents, makes the most liberal provisions for actual settlers—a permanent settlement of one family on every league of land being necessary in order to secure the same. But however strong the inducements to become interested in that country, they would not by any means seek to subvert those liberal and enlightened laws, but as those laws ask and call one good and wholesome married family to locate and cultivate every such league of land (offering one quarter of a league to an unmarried man—they complying with the colonization laws,) the said White & Salmon are therefore willing further to divide the advantages offered, and for the accomplishment of these objects, and to fulfill the just expectations of that Government and of the Empresarios.

Now Therefore, The following contract made and entered into, this Twenty third day of February 1836, by and between said John White and said Richard Salmon of the State aforesaid, of the first part and Allen C. Wilbur now of the town of Salina and state of New York of the second part, WITNESSETH—That the said parties of the first part for and in consideration of the premises, covenants and agreements to be kept and performed, do agree that the said party of the second part shall be entitled to One thousand & sixty two acres of land out of some one of such leagues of such lands as shall be located, surveyed and

<sup>46</sup>*Attached to petition of Richard Salmon. Memorials & Petitions, Congress of the Republic of Texas (MS. Archives, Texas State Library, Austin).*

secured under and by virtue of said contract, so executed and delivered by said Samuel M. Williams for himself and Stephen F. Austin.

The said parties of the first part agree to pay for the benefit of the party of the second part towards the expense of getting on to said land the sum of To him in hand paid One.....Dollars and pay the government fees on said lands as contemplated under and by virtue of said contract made by Samuel M. Williams for himself and Stephen F. Austin, or under other and further authorities and contracts which may be secured by the said parties of the first part, or by the said Salmon as specified in agreements herewith between themselves. The said party of the second part, a married man, agrees that he will be in the city of New York with his wife on the Twenty Ninth day of February instant, that he will then and there with his wife report themselves to one of the parties of the first part, or to their agent, and there hold themselves in readiness to embark for Texas at any moment, and under the direction of said White and Salmon, or their agent, he and she will go on provided with the requisite testimonials of good character and industrious habits; that he will give such notices, make such declarations as the colonization laws of that country shall require, and will so locate on such part of said league of land and that he will do all other lawful acts and things necessary as a colonist or settler, to enable the said parties of the first part and himself to secure such league of land. And the said party of the second part hereby agrees that he or he and his wife shall and will from time to time, when necessary so to do execute in due form, acknowledge & deliver to the constituted authorities of that government, to the said parties of the first part or to their agent or attorneys, all such instruments, documents or declarations, whether to the Empresarios Commissioners or others duly constituted officers of that government, or whether as deeds of trust or otherwise as shall be necessary in order to secure to them the parties of the first part, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns a perfect and regular chain of title to such league of land, they the said parties of the first part yielding or reconveying to the said parties of the second part the quantity or proportion of said league of land above mentioned, viz: One thousand & Sixty Two acres and the said party of the second part hereby covenants to and with the said parties of the first part that should he neglect or refuse to comply with the provisions of this contract in locating said land and as above specified and in pursuance of the colonization laws of that country, thereby neglect to secure to the said White & Salmon a possession, right, title, interest, claim, and demand in and to said league of land, as above specified or to Three thousand three hundred & Sixty Six acres thereof; he, the said party of the second part, shall and will pay to the said party of the first part the sum of Five dollars per acre, for each and every acre, as liquidated damages for such league of land so neglected to be secured as herein specified, provided the said parties of the first part shall choose to insist upon the payment of the said liquidated damages instead of the specific performance of this agreement, to convey said land by the said party of the second part. It is, however, hereby provided that should the colonization laws and the future laws of that country leave the government or authorities no other alternative but to make a certificate title or conveyance of said league of land to the party of the second part as a colonist, nothing contained in this Instrument of Agreement shall be construed to have the effect to waive the right of the parties of the first part, their heirs and assigns, in law and equity to compel the party of the second part to secure to the said parties of the first part, as herein stipulated, the balance of said league of land, viz: 3,366.....acres.

And it is hereby agreed that all the parties to this contract, that the said John White is in no event to become liable to pay any other sum of money than the sum which he has stipulated to pay in the foregoing agreements between him and said Salmon towards the expenses of getting on to said land, and the government fees and all other expenses in relation to his enterprise herein stipulated by the parties of the first part, shall be borne and paid wholly by said Salmon; and that neither the said Salmon nor any of the families or party of the second part, so introduced on said lands, shall have any legal or equitable claim on said White for any other sum of money or expenditures in relation thereto or by virtue of this contract, except the said sum to be paid at the times and in the manner therein stipulated in said agreements between them the said White and Salmon, and which agreements bearing date the Fifteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six.

In testimony Whereof the parties hereto bind themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, and have hereunto affixed their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore mentioned.

JOHN WHITE— [L. S.]  
 RICHARD SALMON. [L. S.]  
 ALLEN C WILBUR [L. S.]

Acknowledged and delivered  
 in presence

ERASTUS CLARK witness for  
 JNO WHITE & A C WILBUR

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Document No. 3.<sup>47</sup>

RICHARD SALMON TO STEPHEN FULLER AUSTIN,  
 NEW ORLEANS, 16 JUNE 1836

New Orleans, June 16th 1836.

My dear Sir:—

I have diligently sought an interview with You, during your short stay here:—but, not having been so fortunate as to find You at leisure,—even for a few Moments, permit me to use my Pen, and briefly lay before you the following facts, etc relative to my intended Location and Settlement in Texas:—And, *first*, my *efforts* for the benefit of that Country, 1.—Thro the medium of the News-Papers, I have re-published all the most valuable and interesting Matter which has appeared relative to Texas—together with many original Articles, for the space of 2 years past, especially thro' the Middle and Western parts of the State of New: York; by which a very general and ardent interest has been excited in its behalf, so that, besides the small Colony which I bring with me, there are more than 100 Families in *Onondaga* and adjacent Counties, many of them being quite independent as to Property, who, if *we* (*pioneers*) *succeed* in effecting our Location, and send back a *good report*, will immediately follow us into Texas;—2 I have been the cause of a number of Families emigrating to Texas, who have resided there for some time,—3.—Also of sending a number of hardy Volunteers (15 or 20 at least) to aid her in the great and glorious struggle for Independence. 4. I wish to settle in your fine Country, on account of the *health* of my Family—

<sup>47</sup>Eugene C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers* (Austin, The University of Texas Press, 1926), III, 366-367.

to make myself useful as a Missionary—and intend, that the Families I take with me shall constitute my first Congregation. The only difficulty, of moment, with which we now have to contend, is, our long and expensive delay, and especially in a climate where Neither our healths nor lives are *safe*, should we be obliged to remain many weeks beyond the present time:—Moreover, I have only about *one fourth the means* necessary to transport these families to Texas; and, having no *certainty* and obtaining remittances from N. York, sooner than abt 7 or 8 Weeks hence; I am therefore obliged to *remain here until* remittances *arrive*—or until I can, *myself succeed* in raising the requisite means to take my People on.—This has been a sad delay for Us all.—I trust we shall be enabled to go on soon, and be permitted to Locate, where at least we shall be enabled to preserve both our Healths and our Lives;—My present plan—As soon as I can get ready—to take our people on to the *Natchez Bluffs*, and let them remain there for a time, upon the Lands of A. C. Allen and E. A. Baldwin Esqrs, and occupy a number of Buildings belonging to them there.—Should—(finally) the interest which I have so long and so warmly taken in the welfare of Texas be so considered by yourself and the Government, as to expedite our Location, I shall be very glad, and shall have renewed cause to extend my labors and exertions in so good a cause.—Permit me again to solicit your kind aid and influence in our behalf:—I am, Dr. Sir, with great Respect

R. SALMON.

To Genl S. F. Austin

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Document No. 4.<sup>48</sup>

RICHARD SALMON TO STEPHEN FULLER AUSTIN, COLUMBIA,  
TEXAS, 7 DECEMBER 1836

Columbia Texas: Decr. 7, 1836.

My Dear Sir:

Permit me as briefly as may be—to submit to you the following Circumstances and facts relative to the Emigration of Myself and family and little Colony for Texas—To Wit,

1.—Before we left N. York, I occupied nearly 2 years in diligent exertions for the benefit of Texans:—1st. In publishing, in various News Papers all the valuable information which had ever appeared on the subject, with many original communications: which, and with a variety of incidental Expenses, in reference to my families, cost me more than \$200.

2.—I have been the direct Agent of sending here at least 20 Volunteers—probably more.—

3.—Also, 20, or 25 Families; besides those (15) last which I brought with me.—

4.—We should all have been in Texas by the 1st. of April, last;—but for the unavoidable Delays; etc, on account of the unsettled state of the country, having been *advised* to remain etc—

5.—We have all generally—suffered most severely from *Sickness*, and from want of *employment Sufficient to sustain ourselves*—so that,—

6.—Of our whole Number, 5 have Died (viz 2 children and 3 men, Heads of Families; 2 of whom left Widows with Children.) 1. Mrs. Kent, (a most

<sup>48</sup>Eugene C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers* (Austin, The University of Texas Press, 1926), III, pages 470-472.

valuable young family; )—has no children. (*What can be done for her?*)

7.—Hence, in sustaining myself and family, and Colonists, during our long *detention* my *Expenses* have exceeded \$1,800—

8.—Nevertheless, the *remains* of my Colony—together with my own Family I shall be able to bring into Texas, *immediately*;—that is, as soon I can go and return from New Orleans; *they all* being prepared on the shortest notice: *Provided*, I can *now ascertain where to locate them*.

9.—As soon as I can bring into Texas those of my Colony who are now *in* and *about* N: Orleans, I can, If necessary—Very soon make up the Number who have been removed by Death & as follows:—2 families now in Texas, living near Nacogdoches; and have been there for some time, awaiting our Location in order to join us; who did not, originally, belong to my present Colony; and whom I sent on nearly 1 year ago:—and 21y—at least 100 Families of good character, enterprising, and of *property* sufficient to bear their own Expenses here, and also, to *buy* their own *Land*, residing in the Western parts of New York, who are *ready* and *anxious* to join us in Texas; and, *who will* do so, the moment I *notify* them that *we* have settled here, and are *pleased* with the Country:—(This is—however, much too *small* an estimate:)

10.—The “General Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, of the Church in the U States”, have already made *Texas* a *Missionary Station*, with a view to *my own appointment* as their *Missionary*: and which they have likewise *Resolved* to do, *as soon* as I shall be *Located* in the Country and *actually engaged* in my Professional duties.

11.—Therefore, our immediate *Settlement* in Texas, is *all-important*—in regard to the *interests and welfare*—of *my self and family*; and, indeed a *failure* to do so,—after our severe trials and great *Expenses*—would be direct and total *ruin to us all!*

12.—*Finally*—notwithstanding the above facts and circumstances—I have, thus far, been of any valuable services to Texas,—I rejoice; and I shall still be happy to render her any benefit in my power; either *Professionally* or otherwise; looking for *no other reward*, than to be allowed to *Locate my own family* and the other families with me, agreeably to the *Terms* of my Original Contract with you of Nov. 28, 1833 [1835].

13.—The whole *Expense*, which I have incurred in regard to my Colony, up to the present time, *exceeds* \$4,500.

14. Finally; let me entreat you—(such is the divided state of public opinion here:—so many different & conflicting *interests* and, so numerous, unreasonable, and *contradictory* are the *Interpretations* given—even by our *Legislators*—to the *Colonization Laws*.—*Let me entreat you*, respectfully and most earnestly, to explain to me the *real facts* and circumstances of the case, regarding the *Location* of *my own*, and the *Families* with me, agreeably to those Laws, in the 1st. place; and 21y—What *you, yourself*, will be able to *do for us*,—if anything: *Lastly*: what *I had best do* situated as I *now* am?—&c &c— I am Dr Sir, with great Respect,

R. SALMON

To Whom it May Concern *Genl. Austin*—Texas

Document No. 5.<sup>49</sup>VOUCHER FOR SERVICES AS CHAPLAIN, COLUMBIA, TEXAS,  
22 DECEMBER 1836

Senate Chamber

Decr 22nd 1836

This is to certify that Richard Salmon has served as Chaplain of the present Congress thirty five days.

35

5

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 \$175

Sworn to

 R[ichardson]. Scurry  
 Secry of the Senate

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 J. W. Moody auditor
Document No. 6.<sup>50</sup>RICHARD SALMON TO THE FOREIGN COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD  
OF MISSIONS, BRAZORIA, TEXAS, 6 JULY 1838

*Extract from a letter addressed to the Board of Missions, by a Clergyman in Texas, dated July 6, 1838.*—I arrived in the City of New-Orleans about the middle of April, 1836, with the families who accompanied me, part of whom were my own parishioners at Syracuse and Geddes, New-York, with the design, as it was well known, of settling together in Texas, and forming a Community at first by ourselves, myself being the clergyman. But it pleased God that we should be disappointed, even to the present time, in all our plans and operations. From the period of the battle of San Jacinto for nearly a year, the country was in so desolate a state that few or no families presumed to enter it. Hence, we were obliged to remain in or near New-Orleans for that space of time. At present, there are of us all, about fourteen families in Texas, but all are in an unsettled state, and in circumstances of greater or less affliction. Since our arrival six individuals have died by disease, and five by a violent death by drowning while endeavoring to land at Velasco during tempestuous weather.

As a missionary I have indeed done but little, on account of the continued sickness of myself and family. I settled in this place, (the county town of Brazoria, and the richest county in Texas,) with my family in August last (1837), since which, both myself and family have been sick; so much so, as to unfit us for all business more than seven-eighths of the whole time. Besides acting as chaplain to the Senate of the first Congress, I have performed several marriages,<sup>51</sup> and attended a great many burials. Moreover, I have three several times actually

<sup>49</sup>*Comptroller's Civil Service Records (MS. Archives, Texas State Library, Austin).*

<sup>50</sup>*Spirit of Missions, III (1838), 330-331.*

<sup>51</sup>*The author examined the Marriage Records of Brazoria, Fort Bend, Galveston, Harris, and Matagorda counties, the most likely counties in which Salmon would have celebrated marriages, and found but one marriage solemnized by him. This was between John Wurts Cloud and Rebecca Johnston, at what is now Morgan's Point, Harris county, 1 November, 1837. Marriage Records of Harris County (MS. Harris County Clerk's Office, Houston), A, 18.*

commenced my duties in a select school; and in May last I began to preach regularly here to large congregations, and continued for three Sundays; but in every instance I have been prevented from prosecuting my enterprise by the sickness of either myself or family. And now I am on the point of commencing a similar work nearer the coast, where it is much more healthy than at this place. God only knows what the result may be. In fact, such has been the will of our heavenly Father, we have, during our sojourn here, "suffered the loss of all things," and have barely escaped with our lives thus far.

The fields here are now ripe for the harvest, and if the present opportunity be neglected, infinite will be the loss—let the Church act, and act promptly. I do not ask the Church to appoint me, notwithstanding my suffering, my labors, and my losses for the Church's sake, and although in no instance have I departed from the purity and integrity of my profession. But, oh! send us missionaries here.

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Document No. 7.<sup>52</sup>

ADVERTISEMENT OF HOUSTON CITY SCHOOL, RICHARD SALMON,  
PRINCIPAL AND SECRETARY OF THE BOARD,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS, 20 FEBRUARY 1839

THE citizens of Houston are hereby notified that the city school was opened on Monday last, the 11th inst.: That, by a resolution of the board of aldermen, the price of tuition has been fixed at *three dollars per month* for each and every branch of study, to which it may be necessary to attend. This being the *present* arrangement, there will therefore be no *distinction* made from *elementary* to the highest departments of academical studies, as usually taught in the institutions of the U. States. The Principal will be happy to attend to a class or two in the Latin and Greek languages, or in the higher branches of the mathematics, should there be a sufficient number of students who may desire to attend to these studies.

Parents whose circumstances will not permit them to pay the price of tuition, are also notified that by applying to the mayor or to the board of aldermen, they can obtain a *certificate* which will authorize them to send their children to the city school *free of any charge*.

By order of the board.

R. SALMON,  
*Principal and secretary of the board*

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Document No. 8.<sup>53</sup>

RICHARD SALMON TO THE CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
TEXAS, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 29 NOVEMBER 1839

To the Honorable, the Senate, and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas—in Congress assembled:—

—Gentlemen:—The undersigned, Your Petitioner, having for 3 years last

<sup>52</sup>*Telegraph & Texas Register (Houston)*, 20 February, 1839, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup>*Memorials & Petitions, Congress of the Republic of Texas (MS. Archives, Texas State Library, Austin)*. *Endorsed*: "Decr. 10, *rejd. to comt. on Public Lands* Decr. 21st, *Rejected by Report of Committee*."

past been a citizen of this Republic; & being, at present, a resident of the City of Houston, in the County of Harrisburg;<sup>54</sup>—begs leave, very Respectfully, to Represent, to your Honorable Body, the following circumstances & Facts.—*To Wit*: That, Your Petitioner is a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; & that previous to his removal, with his family, to this Republic in the Winter of 1836, he was, for several years, settled at Syracuse in the Co. of Onondaga, & State of New York, as the Rector of a Church there, under circumstances every way desirable:—That early in the year 1834, receiving such very favorable accounts of Texas, from Publications, & from persons who had visited it;—he became deeply interested in the welfare of this Country; &, honestly believing that his sphere of usefulness might be greatly extended by the measure, resolved to remove thither, with his Family, at the earliest period possible.—Accordingly, the first object of your Petitioner was to form a *Colony*, composed of his own Parishioners & Neighbors “*persons of good moral character & industrious habits*,” with whom he might Settle in Texas, in the twofold capacity of their Minister & the Instructor of their Children; &, to devote his whole time, talents, & means—(whatever these might be)—to promote the great cause of Education, in its widest sense in this country;—to effect this, it was necessary that the People of Western N. York, etc should become acquainted with the History & Circumstances of Texas, & the inducements to Emigration thither:—Whereupon, your P—r, immediately Republished an abstract of all that had then appeared relating to Texas, together with many original articles in several of the principal News Papers, wh’ were widely circulated, and wh’ necessarily engaged him in an extensive Correspondence—which created a deep & animated interest in the destinies of this Republic, over a large extent of a country where, before, by more than five eighths of the whole population, Texas was not known: even in *Name!*—which, to say nothing of the time employed, caused considerable *expense* to your P—r—(not less than 2, or \$300)—That, in the autumn of this year (1834,)—he succeeded in raising *50 Families*, composed chiefly of Mechanics & Farmers, who were on the eve of starting in the month of November, the same year;—but, being unable to raise *funds* sufficient to defray their expenses, the expedition was abandoned:—A large proportion of these families, however, have since, at different periods, removed to Texas:—That your P—r, on hearing the powerful appeal of your Commissioners, addressed to the People of the U. States for aid, to assist you in driving from Your Borders a ruthless & exterminating *Foe*, continued his exertions in behalf of Texas, &, previous to January (1836)—he succeeded in inducing a number of young men—(from 15 to 20;)—to emigrate thither, who subsequently joined your standard as Volunteers:—That, your *Petitioner*, in the month of August, 1835, visited the City of Philadelphia, where the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was then holding its *triennial* Session; before whom he laid his whole plan of settling in Texas as a Missionary & a Teacher, without any reservation;—the cheerful & entire approval of that highly respectable Body, was the result:—& aid of his own Diocesan—the Right Revd. Benj. T. Onderdonk of the City & State of N. York, was also freely accorded:—That, finding it impracticable to realise, from his own resources, sufficient Funds to enable him to bear the Expenses of his own, & 15 other families, in so great an undertaking; & to leave N. York in Season, before the setting in of Winter:—Your P—r,—rather than

<sup>54</sup>*Changed to Harris by joint resolution of Congress, approved by President Lamar, 28 December, 1839. Houston is the county seat of Harris County.*

forego the advantages which he hoped to realise by a Settlement in this fine Climate in reference to the declining health of his family—(*consumption*)—& which Physicians recommended as the only probable means of their recovery;—Accepted a proposition from *John White*—(to whom, during the last Congressional Session, Your Honb. Body, made a liberal grant of 2 Leagues & 2 Labors of Land, on condition that he should settle, with his family, in this Republic on, or before the expiration of 2 years;)—the general features of which were, that your P—r should raise 15 Families, and personally accompany them, & attend to their Location on their respective Leagues of Land; according to the tenure of a written Agreement made by the desire of your P—r, *in his behalf*.—(he having returned to Syracuse.)—betwixt the said *John White & Samuel M. Williams*, in the City of N. York;—he, the said *White*, obligating himself to advance to your Petitioner, \$2,000, towards bearing the Expenses etc—of the families,—(agreeably to the accompanying printed agreement, marked No. 1:)<sup>55</sup>—the Families being willing to receive a less quantum of Land, *provided* they could be transported into Texas & located free of any expense; (see Paper No. 2.)<sup>56</sup>—And, your P—r respectfully begs leave farther to state,—That he left Syracuse, N. Yk. with the families on the 24th day of February, 1836, in the midst of a fall of *Snow of 5 feet in depth, & cold* the most intense that had been experienced there for many years;—&, arrived in the City of New York, on the 1st March:—thus, having advanced 300 Miles on his Journey *before* the *Declaration of the Independence of this Republic*:—That, himself & families were unavoidably detained in that City, for 2 Weeks before a Passage could be procured for New: Orleans:—That he, with his own family, took the inland routes—(via Baltimore & Wheeling;)—&, at Baltimore met your Commissioners—the Honb. Messrs. [Stephen Fuller] *Austin*, [William Harris] *Wharton*, & [Branch Tanner] *Archer*; and, that he presented the agreement made betwixt said *White & Williams*, to *Genl. S. F. Austin*, wh' was approved, & signed by him, & your P—r, encouraged to proceed by all means:—that, he then, immediately went on to New Orleans, where, on the 1st Week in April.—('36:)—he met his fellow Emigrants, who had gone by *Sea*, having suffered much from an unusually long, & stormy Passage of 4 Weeks:—

—That, in the City of N. Orleans; he first received intelligence of the real, alarming situation of Texas:—of the Declaration of Independence of the 2d. of March; that the Country was overrun by the Enemy;—& the Forces of the Republic, under the command of General Houston, obliged to retreat before them—&, that it would be many months before Women & Children could, with any safety (if ever!)—be taken into Texas:—

—That, thereupon, your P—r immediately, upon his own responsibility, & upon the assurance that the Original Contract with Messrs. Austin & Williams,—(being made some 5 or 6 months *before* the Declaration of Independence)—would be fulfilled, & he, with his families, be allowed to Located;—*Loaned* [borrowed] \$2,500 in New Orleans & Natches:—That, at great trouble, & Expense, he procured Employments. & comfortable situations for his Families who, nevertheless, suffered much from sickness, & 8 or 10 out of their number have *died*,—leaving several widows and children under his care:—That, from his arrival in N. Orleans, &, especially, previous to the eventful, & glorious Battle of *San Jacinto*; Your P—r, actively employed himself, in raising *recruits & Volunteers*,

<sup>55</sup>Document No. 1.

<sup>56</sup>Document No. 2.

for the aid of Texas, many of whom he caused to join the *Corps of Genl.* [Thomas Jefferson] *Greene* [Green]; & *Three Volunteers*, he fitted out, & himself bore their Expenses:—That, he was thus, generally, employed, until the month of October, 1836, when he came to Texas, & attended the 1st Session of the 1st Congress of this Republic, at Columbia, by whose *Senate* he was appointed *Chaplain*, & acted in this capacity during the *Session*—beside regularly Preaching on every Sunday, & attending numerous Funerals,—chiefly soldiers; then, recently from the *Army*:—(Also, on the 29th day of Decr. '36, he performed the Funeral Service of his Church, at the Grave of the late lamented, Genl. S. F. Austin!)—That, at the close of Session, he entered into a contract with the *Honb. Sterling C. Robertson* to Locate upon his Grant 20 families on the usual conditions.—Your, P—r, not knowing, at that time, but that the said S. C. Robertson, had *Power to fulfil his Contracts*:—indeed, he was assured that he *had*, by the late Judge [Shelby] Corzine, who drew up said Contract; & also, by other members & Legal Gentlemen:—That 12 of these families removed to Texas in the July following, 1837;—(5 persons of whom were, unfortunately drowned, while attempting to land at an improper time, at Velasco, by order of the Captain)—but have, of course, never Located upon the said Robertson's Lands; & that their *disappointment* has drawn, from the evil-disposed among them, *much censure* upon your *Petitioner*;—but, as he is fully conscious, *unjustly*;—From the 1st Colony, (only 7 families of wh' have, as yet, been able to reach Texas;)—who have suffered indescribably, from Poverty, Sickness, & Death, no complaints, or dissatisfaction have ever been uttered:—That your P—r, brought his own family from N. Orleans into Texas, & settled at Brazoria, in April 1837;—That, for nearly 2 years thereafter, both himself & family suffered greatly from Continued Sickness; & altho constantly, & painfully anxious to carry, as far as, practicable, his Original design into execution, by making himself useful to his fellow-Citizens, both through the exercise of his Profession, & (*especially*) as a *Teacher* of Youth:—yet, after repeated efforts, he has never been able to succeed until, upon the restoration of his Health, he was called, by the Corporation of this City, in February last, to take charge of the "*City School*" as its Principal:—That, your P—r, expects the immediate return of his Family, who have spent a few months in N. York on a visit to their friends there; & intends,—(altho' he has not now a foot of Land, notwithstanding the fair prospects which cheered him when he left his pleasant home in N. York;)—to settle in this Republic for the remainder of his Days:—And, he will never regret the expenses, the Privations, & the Sufferings wh' he has undergone, if his exertions have, in any degree, been blessed to the *good* of the bright Land of his adoption.—*YET*;—if the accession of more than 100 good families, whom your P—r has been the cause of emigrating hither, beside the 18 whom he brought with him;—if, the favorable impressions, which his Publications, at considerable expense of time & money, have caused thro a large portion of the Northern, & Western U. States, is of *real benefit to Texas*;—if, the *Soldiers* whom he raised,—a number of whom he even fitted out at his own expense, have been *any aid* to this Republic in the day of its *adversity*;—if his Exertions, his actual services in bringing Emigrants into the Republic;—his sufferings for those emigrants, while voluntarily incurring *Debt*, & the horrors which follow it, in order to *sustain them amidst poverty, Sickness, & Death*, until he should be enabled to *fulfil his part* of the original contract;—his own *residence* in the Republic for *three years*;—&, his earnest endeavors to render himself *useful*—to the 1st Congress, & in his *present* occupation,—thus, truly

"bear the burden and heat of the day:"—are more valuable, more efficient in rendering solid benefit to this Republic; & *more worthy of reward also;*—than the efforts & services of the Individual above mentioned [John White];—(efforts which were chiefly made before his comfortable Fire-side in Syracuse N. York!)—and *which*—tho *appropriated to himself* in his *Petition*—were actually made and rendered, *mostly*, by your *Petitioner*, *before he left N. York with his Families!*—Then, your *Petitioner*, Respectfully, & humbly Prays Your *Honb. Body*, that you would patiently listen to his Prayer, & take into consideration the circumstances, Facts of this, his earnest *Petition*, which he has the honor to *prefer*:—He asks not the power of carrying his Original Contract into *full effect*;—(which, he believes to be incompatible with the Policy of this Government—& perhaps, with the *good* of the Republic;—) No;—he only prays for that which he knows you *can* give; which you *have given* where *far less services* have been rendered to the Republic by those who *are not the Citizens thereof*;—and which, your P—r, believes, & is fully confident you freely, & cheerfully *Will give*, to one who has *done & suffered* so much for the good of our common Country;—*And, that is, Such an Appropriation in Land*, as shall seem good & equitable to Your *Honb. Body*:—& such, (he trusts)—as shall enable your *Petitioner*, under the exercise of a *strict Economy*, to *Pay his honest Debts*—& thus *redeem his Honor his good Name*;—to settle his family comfortably in the Public—if possible—to carry out his original, & long cherished *Plans for usefulness*, in the beautiful country & home of his adoption:—And, your *Petitioner* will, thus, Ever Pray &c,

RICHARD SALMON.

Houston Nov' 29th 1839.

N. B.:—All the *Vouchers* which your P—r, is, at present, able to lay before your *Honb. Body*; are, the accompanying Papers;—with a Reference to the following Persons, *To Wit*;—*Mr. William H. Hunt*, (my Nephew;) who is now one of the Government Surveyors, is *personally acquainted* with the principal facts stated in the *Petition*:—Also *Musgrove Evans, Esqr. 2nd. Auditor*:—The *Honb. Saml. M. Williams*, & *S. C. Robertson*;—The *Emigrants* themselves now at Brazoria & Velasco;—with a majority of the members & officers of the *First Congress*;—& in regard to the *Amount* of the *Money* raised for the purposes above mentioned; permit me to refer to *Col. Samuel Williams*, now at Austin for \$500 of it:—& besides the papers inclosed;<sup>57</sup> the *Certificates* of the Persons in N. O.'s & Natchez, might, if necessary be obtained, &c &c—All wh' is Respectfully submitted,

By R. SALMON.

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Document No. 9.<sup>58</sup>

RICHARD SALMON TO MIRABEAU BUONAPARTE LAMAR,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS, 5 DECEMBER 1839

Houston. December 5th 1839

To His Excellency, M. B. Lamar,—

President of the Republic of Texas;

Dear Sir:—Permit me Respectfully & most earnestly to call your attention to the *Petition* to the present Congress for Relief, which I have now, the honor

<sup>57</sup>*Documents Nos. 1 and 2.*

<sup>58</sup>*Gulick (ed.), The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, V, 330-331.*

to present thro' the hands of our Hon Senator, & Representative from this District.—

I think, while at Columbia, I had the honor of explaining to you the principal circumstances & Facts, relating to my Emigration to Texas in 1836, & I think I may truly say, the very extraordinary train of *misfortunes & sufferings*, whi, (indeed) to the present time has been attendant upon myself, my Family, & our fellow emigrants:—Yet, if *great good* had not been the *result* of my exertions &c, in behalf of this Republic—I do assure *your Excellency*, that I had *never Petitioned!*

*Nevertheless*, I beg you will have the goodness to *read* my Petition attentively at your earliest convenience;—whi I have desired my Nephew Mr Wm H. Hunt, if at Austin;—& M. Evans Esqr. 2d Auditor, my particular friend:—to present to you;—& should you deem it *worthy of your interest & influence*, (& my "*Prayer*" therefore a reasonable one;—)whi I cannot but hope, & feel confident you *will*,—: let me *entreat* your kind countenance and aid in my behalf;—(whether, by *A Special Message* or otherwise)—in such manner as shall seem *good & most expedient* to yourself.—I trust you will forgive me if I am asking *too much*;—and, I hope, that my very peculiar situation & history, & the kind interest whi you have always, hitherto, been pleased to take in my welfare,—will be my excuse!—

May the special Blessing of Almighty God ever attend upon Yourself & family; & upon Yr. Excellencys labors for the good of our Common Country!—With great Respect.

I am your Excelys. most obt. & very Humb. Svt.—R. Salmon.

(P. S:—After repeated inquiries by Letter & otherwise, I believe I have at length—got a "*clue*"—by which I shall finally, be enabled to find the Valuable Memorial of the lamented Col. Milam which was lost:<sup>59</sup>—R S)

Document No. 10.<sup>60</sup>

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF  
HOUSTON, 13 JANUARY 1840

Resolved, That the a/c of R. Salmon for Five hundred and sixteen 32/100 (516.32\$) . . . be passed and the mayor authorized to draw on the Treasurer for the same.

Document No. 11.<sup>61</sup>

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF  
HOUSTON, 16 JANUARY 1840

Resolved that Aldermen [Ferdinand] Gerlach [Archibald] Wynns and [John] Carlos be a committee to investigate the conduct of Mr R Salmon instructor of

<sup>59</sup>*Benjamin Rush Milam was killed at the siege of Bexar (San Antonio), December 1835. The author has no clue whatever as to the identity of the valuable memorial. President Lamar was a historian as well as a politician. His motive in coming to Texas was to collect information for a study of the Revolution.*

<sup>60</sup>*Minutes of the Houston Board of Aldermen (MS. City Secretary's Office, Houston), A, 4.*

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid., pp. 5-6.*

the City School, whose duty shall be to examine the account of money received by him from the children sent to same Generally to inquire what is necessary to be done in order to correct supposed evils for and during the year 1839.

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Document No. 12.<sup>62</sup>

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF  
HOUSTON, 20 JANUARY 1840

The report of the committee on Public school received and adopted.

R Salmon tendered his resignation as principal of the City School which on motion was received.

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Document No. 13.<sup>63</sup>

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF  
HOUSTON, 12 FEBRUARY 1840

Resolved that the letter of Mr. R. Salmon be referred to a committee to consist of Ald [John W.] Moore [John] Carlos and [Dr. William M.] Carper.

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Document No. 14.<sup>64</sup>

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF  
HOUSTON, 2 MARCH 1840

The Committee on Mr. R. Salmon's account presented this report which was received and the rules being suspended it was

Resolved That the account of Mr. R. Salmon be laid on the Table.

<sup>62</sup>*Minutes of the Houston Board of Aldermen (MS. City Secretary's Office, Houston)*, p. 7.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 19.

## ANGLICAN BEGINNINGS IN MASSACHUSETTS

*By Edgar Legare Pennington*

WHILE the early history of Massachusetts shows a repudiation of the Church of England and the establishment of an ecclesiastical order exclusive of the Church of the mother country, there were traces of Anglicanism throughout the whole period of colonization. Eventually the Church secured a footing in the Colony, and parishes sprang into life. The story of the struggling but persisting elements is an interesting one.

After the discovery of New England, its coasts were often visited. Some vessels came to perfect the discoveries; others were attracted by the fisheries and forests. One David Ingram, a wandering sailor, was landed with about a hundred companions on the Gulf of Mexico, in October, 1568, by Captain John Hawkins. With two others, Ingram travelled afoot along the Indian trails, passing through Massachusetts and Maine to the St. John's river, where he embarked in a French ship. He wrote a narrative of his journey, which was printed by Hakluyt in 1589.<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew Gosnold rounded Cape Cod in 1602; and, the following year, Martin Pring went into Massachusetts Bay, and entered Plymouth harbour, where he remained about six weeks. Robert Salterne, who was with Pring at Plymouth, afterwards took orders in the English Church. This leads to the conjecture that public worship may have been conducted at Plymouth in 1603.<sup>2</sup>

### I. THE PILGRIMS AND THE CHURCH

The "Mayflower" colonists, who landed December 21st, 1620, were separatists from the English Church, as is well known. The grounds for their dissatisfaction have been frequently reiterated and discussed. As a sympathetic student summarized the situation, this separatism was induced by the perpetual interference of the Church with common life, by the low quality of all prescriptions for salvation, by the ill moral character and influence of both clergy and Church, and by the intolerable tyranny of the Roman Church over the mind.

<sup>1</sup>*Winsor: Narrative and Critical History, III., p. 170; MSS. Sloane (British Museum), #1447; MSS. Tanner (Bodleian), #79.*

<sup>2</sup>*Winsor: Narrative and Critical History, III., p. 175.*

“Such was the England into which our religious fathers were born, as it was entering upon the sixteenth century of the Christian era. The Word of God was withdrawn from men. There was no open vision of a Saviour. . . . Except for a man to trudge wearily obedient his daily tread-mill round of appointed idolatries, led by ecclesiastics whom he felt to be bad in an ecclesiasticism which he could not feel to be good; there was nothing for him but a brief, blind, instinctive and ineffectual struggle for something better he knew not what, swiftly ending in bell, book and candle, and the funeral pyre, or a craven submission, abjuration and absolution, which left his last state worse than the first. It was like trying to breathe in an exhausted receiver. The light that was in the land had become darkness, and how great was that darkness!”<sup>3</sup>

Queen Elizabeth’s policy of uniformity was sternly pursued by her last Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), and was ostentatiously adopted by King James the First at the Hampton Court Conference in the first year of his reign. There were various thriving groups of separatists in the kingdom; and some of them migrated to Amsterdam in 1606. Those who remained in England found their position exceedingly difficult; and they in turn joined their compatriots in Holland. There they found other residents of similar religious sentiments. In 1617, the Holland separatists sent agents to confer with the Virginia Company in London with reference to settling in America. They found the Company well disposed, and gained a friend in no less a person than Sir Edwyn Sandys—not a Puritan but the son of an Archbishop of York. The efforts to procure a patent and to obtain the funds for their undertaking were at length successful. It is interesting to note that when the agents went to confer with the Virginia Company, “they took with them, for use in conciliating the sentiments which any petition from a community with their history would awaken at court, a memorable declaration in seven articles, signed by the pastor and elder, which professed their full assent to the doctrines of the Church of England, as well as their acknowledgment of the King’s supremacy and of the obedience due to him, ‘either active if the thing commanded be not against God’s Word, or passive (i. e., undergoing the appointed penalties), if it be.’ The same articles, in carefully guarded language, recognized as lawful the existing relations of Church and State in England, and disavowed the notion of authority inhering in any assembly of ecclesiastical officers, except as conferred by the civil magistrate.”<sup>4</sup>

There was undoubtedly a basis for the grievances of the separatists. The Sixteenth Century had been marked by drastic changes, and the

<sup>3</sup>*Dexter: Congregationalism as seen in its literature*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>4</sup>*Winsor: Narrative and Critical History, III.*, pp. 264-265.

break with Rome had been followed by controversy and bloodshed. The Pope had published a bull of excommunication against the Queen of England, and had absolved her subjects from all loyalty to her. The Spanish Armada was designed to put an end to the power of the nation. There were plots and intrigues. It is not surprising that the policy of State should demand religious uniformity as an important element of national stability. Conscientious objectors to the approved order of things were naturally regarded with suspicion. More than three centuries removed, we are able to look back on the Brownists (or Separatists) with sympathy and admiration; but it is easy to see that they may have been suspected as a disloyal and inharmonious element, capable of retarding the progress of the land. Their position was made difficult in England; hence they left the country. In their desire to secure the right of settlement in the new world, they showed a conciliatory disposition. In their articles, sent from the Church of Leyden in 1617 to the Great Council of England, they declared that "to y<sup>e</sup> confession of fayth published in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England & to every artikell thereof we . . . assent wholly . . . Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops. . . . The authority of y<sup>e</sup> present bishops in y<sup>e</sup> Land wee do acknolidg so far forth as y<sup>e</sup> same is indeed derived from his Majesty unto them."

When King James the First said that he would "connive at their separatism" and not molest them so long as they gave no public offence; but he would not allow them "under the great seal:" they evidently felt that they were not bound by the concessions they had made. Therefore, when they came to America, they proceeded to set up an independent order of church government. They acknowledged no ties with the English Church; and had no intention that Anglican clergymen should get a foot-hold or that anything distinctive of the Established Church should be introduced. Their intellectual leaders had been nurtured in Elizabethan radicalism. They were men of plebeian origin, and had studied the Bible texts closely. Ecclesiastical traditions meant little or nothing to them; under the guidance of John Robinson, they had developed their own theories and practices of primitive congregationalism. So they brought to America a consciously democratic church-order.<sup>5</sup>

On reaching this country, the Pilgrims found themselves faced with painful and irksome problems. They had hoped to get their rude houses built before the winter should set in; but the many delays and mishaps had brought them ashore in the coldest season. When winter was over, fifty-one of their number had died. At one time, the

<sup>5</sup>*Johns Hopkins Studies*, X., pp. 104-105; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXV., p. 276.

living were scarcely able to bury the dead. At first, all were crowded under a single roof. But they were undaunted; they applied themselves to their task with grim determination, encouraged by the consciousness of God's protecting care.

Their religious convictions had moulded their outlook and spurred them onward. With privation and constant struggle, they were strengthened by the assurance that they had made a great venture for faith. It is not surprising that they were intolerant of those who did not share their views. The opportunity soon arose for them to show that they had no intention of retaining the festivals of the Church. Some new settlers had arrived in November, 1621, on the "Fortune;" and they proceeded to celebrate Christmas as a holiday. Governor Bradford tells us in his journal about the incident.

"On y<sup>e</sup> day called Christmas-day y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> called them out to worke, (as it was used,) but y<sup>e</sup> most of this new company excused them selves and said it went against their consciences to work on y<sup>t</sup> day. So y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> tould them that if they made it mater of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away y<sup>e</sup> rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in y<sup>e</sup> streete at play, openly; some pitching y<sup>e</sup> barr, & some at stoole ball, and shuch like sports. So he went to them, and tooke away their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made y<sup>e</sup> keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in y<sup>e</sup> streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly."<sup>6</sup>

That Englishmen and members of the Established Church should appear in the newly settled region was inevitable. In the summer of 1622, Thomas Weston, a merchant, projected a settlement at what was later known as Weymouth; the enterprise lasted scarcely a year. Weston's company were Anglicans; and, as a contemporary expressed it, since they were "looked upon with an evil eye by the independents, and abandoned to the fury of the savages, they were obliged to quit their settlement." Their neighbours said that "Weston and his men were so scandalously wicked, that they were a nuisance to the very savages."<sup>7</sup>

Probably Thomas Morton, of "Cliffords Inne gent.," was one of Weston's group. That he was in New England in 1622, he tells us in the following language:—

<sup>6</sup>Bradford: *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, 1912 ed., I., p. 70.

<sup>7</sup>Morton goes into details about Weston and his colonists; but says nothing about their Anglicanism.

"In the year since the incarnation of Christ, 1622, it was my chance to be landed in these parts of New England, where I found two sorts of people, the one Christians, the other Infidels, these I found most full of humanity, and more friendly than the others."

Morton probably left with the breaking up of Weston's company; but he was back in 1625, when he was established with thirty servants and provisions for a plantation on Passonagesset, or Mount Wollaston, an eminence in the present town of Quincy overlooking the Bay. Morton's life was out of accord with the principles of the austere separatists; and he was regarded as a "maine enemy to theire Church and State." He named his settlement, "Ma-re Mount" ("Merie Monte")—obviously because of its vicinity to the sea, rather than to label it as the citadel of abandonment; but it was in the latter sense that the rigid Pilgrims regarded it. On the 1st of May, 1627, Morton erected at his home a May-pole, "a goodly pine tree of 80 foote longe;" and, in company with the Indians, with whom he lived on friendly terms, he held high revels to the disgust of the Plymouth elders. He not only continued his merry pranks in disregard of the Pilgrims but composed satires on them. His example was said to have attracted a number of malcontents to his place. Endicott admonished the revellers to mend their ways, but this advice was unheeded. Miles Standish led a punitive expedition to "Ma-re Mount." Morton was arrested; the may-pole was cut down, and the little colony dispersed. The next year, Morton reappeared at "Ma-re Mount," where he kept annoying the settlers by his free and easy ways.

Bradford dubbed Morton the "Lord of misrule," and said that he maintained, as it were, "a school of Atheism."

"And after they had gott some goods into their hands, and gott much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great excess."

But Bradford makes a very serious charge indeed, when he says that Morton traded guns, powder, and shot to the Indians, and taught them how to use ammunition. This caused anxiety, because it gave the Indians a great advantage and made them more a menace. This was deplorable, "when some of their neighbours and freinds are daly killed by the Indeans, or are in Deanger thereof, and live but at the Indeans mercie."

Another charge made against Morton was that he had committed injuries both to the English and the Indians, and that he had shot

hail-shot at a troop of Indians, because they had not brought him a canoe with which to cross a river. In so doing, he had hurt one, and shot through the garments of another. That this charge was based on fact is doubtful; Morton was a fractious, unwelcome element in the colony, but it is equally apparent that the people were ready to resort to every means, fair or foul, to get rid of him. On the 7th of September, 1630, he was sentenced by court to be set into the bilbees, and afterwards sent prisoner to England. All of his goods were ordered seized to defray the charge of his transportation, to pay his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe which he took away from them. It was also decreed that his house, after the goods were removed, should be burnt down in the sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction for the many wrongs which he had done them from time to time.

Commenting on this trial and sentence, Charles Francis Adams said in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1877, that "these were high-handed acts of unmistakable oppression. . . . The probabilities in the case would seem to be that the Massachusetts magistrates had made up their minds in advance to drive this man out of Massachusetts."

The sentence was carried out. It was ordered that Morton "saile in sight of his house," which was to be fired by his foes; and thus witness his own ruin. The captain of the "Gift" refused to carry him agreeably to the order of the court; and it was three months before the authorities could get rid of their culprit.

Samuel Maverick, the first inhabitant of "Noddle's Island," and a man described in Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Saviour* as "a man of very loving and courteous behaviour, very ready to entertain strangers, yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall Power one (on) this Island," wrote a letter to the Earl of Clarendon in Morton's behalf. He said:—

"One Mr Morton, a gent<sup>t</sup> of good qualities, vpon pretence that he had shott an Indian, wittingly, w<sup>ch</sup> was indeede but accidentally, and no hurt donn, they sentenced him to be sent fo<sup>r</sup>, England prisoner, as one who had a designe to sett the Indians at variance w<sup>th</sup> vs, they further ordered as he was to saile in sight of his howse that it should be fired; he refusinge to goe in to the shippe, as havinge no business there, was hoisted by a tackle, and neare starued in the passage. No thinge was said to him heare: in the tyme of his abode heare, he wrote a booke entitled New Canan, a good description of the Cuntery as then it was, only in the end of it he pinched too closely on some in authoritie there, for w<sup>ch</sup> some yeares after cominge ouer to look after his land for w<sup>ch</sup> he had a patent many

yeares before, he found his land disposed of and made a towne-ship, and himselfe shortly after apprehended, put into the gaole w<sup>th</sup>out fire or beddinge, no bayle to be taken, where he remained a very cold winter, nothing laid to his charge but the writings of this booke, w<sup>ch</sup> he confessed not, nor could they proue. He died shortly after, and as he said, and may well be supposed on his hard vsage in prison.”<sup>8</sup>

The fact is, Morton after his banishment antagonised the Massachusetts settlers by seeking redress for his injuries, and by publishing his book. The latter was styled by Bradford, “an infamouse and scurrilous booke against many godly and cheefe men of y<sup>e</sup> cuntrie; full of lyes and slanders, and fraught with profane callumnies against their names and persons, and y<sup>e</sup> ways of God.” Morton’s book, *New English Canaan or New Canaan*, was printed in Amsterdam in 1637. “The first Booke setting forth the originall of the Natives, their Manners and Customes, together with their tractable Nature and Love towards the English. The second Booke setting forth the naturall Indowments of the Country, and what staple Commodities it yealdeth. The third Booke setting forth, what people are planted there, their prosperity, what remarkable accidents have happened since the first planting of it, together with their Tenents and practise of their Church.” He bitterly upbraided the bigotry of the separatists. He said that the revels around the May-pole were in their eyes as bad “as if they had anew revived and celebrated the Feasts of y<sup>e</sup> Roman Goddes Flora, or the beastly practises of y<sup>e</sup> madd Bachanalians. Morton likewise (to shew his poetrie) composed sundry rimes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandall of some persons, which he affixed to their idle or idoll May-polls.”

While Morton has been alluded to repeatedly as a liberal spirit in the midst of an intolerant, narrow age, it does not appear that he was of heroic stature. The colony was passing through a very precarious phase; and his antagonism was hardly based on deep, fundamental principles. While his Anglican affiliations may have had much to do with rendering him undesirable, he was not representative of the true spirit of the Church.<sup>9</sup>

About the middle of September, 1623, Robert Gorges, the younger son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, arrived in Massachusetts Bay, where he intended to start a plantation with “sundrie passangers and families.” He selected the place which Weston’s company had forsaken; and there

<sup>8</sup>Coll. N. Y. Historical Society, 1869, Publication Fund, “Clarendon Papers,” p. 40.

<sup>9</sup>The Morton bibliography is extensive. See Morton: *New English Canaan*; Bradford: *History of the Plymouth Plantation*; Perry: *American Episcopal Church, I.*, pp. 82ff.; references in numerous histories.

he remained for a short time—probably less than a year. His people became discouraged; some went to England, others to Virginia. A few remained in Massachusetts, among whom were Samuel Maverick and the Reverend William Blaxton. Among those who returned to the mother country, there was an Anglican clergyman, the Reverend William Morrell. It is said that he had a commission from the ecclesiastical courts of England to supervise churches which might be established in New England. Still he did not mention his commission till just before leaving Plymouth for England. During his stay in Massachusetts, he composed a Latin poem in hexameters, with a translation into English heroic verse. Morrell's disappointment with the new world is seen in his introductory message to the "Vnderstanding Reader," when he warns against the propaganda used to entice settlers:—

"Error in Poesie is lesser blemish than in Historie. Experience cannot plead me ignorant, much lesse innocent, having seen and suffered. I should delude others *vana spe*, or *falso gaudio*. What can be expected from false Relations, but vnhappie proceedings to the best intended, and most hopefull Colonies. So that want of provisions, and right information, begets in the distracted planter nothing but mutinies, fearfull execrations, and sometimes miserable interitues. But of all such perchance hereafter. These were at this time beyond my intent. I onely now and ever desire that my best incense may for ever waite vpon all truely zealous and religious planters and adventurers, who seriously endeavour the dilating of Christs Kingdoms, in the propagating of the Gospell, and so advisedly vndertake so weightie and so worthie a worke, as that they and theirs may paralell these worthe of the world in all externall, internall, and eternall abundances. Farewell, with this one *Memento*: That the best intended conclusions, without an equivalent abilitie, produce nothing but losse, discontents, opprobries, and imperfections."<sup>10</sup>

The tendency of New England to separation could not well be resisted. There were churchmen among the early settlers; but an English priest, who revealed himself as such, would hardly be tolerated.

In March, 1624, the Reverend John Lyford, an Anglican minister sent over by London merchants interested in the success of the colony, arrived at Plymouth with Edward Winslow. Bradford described his appearance:—

"When this man first came a shore, he saluted them (of the plantation of *Plymouth*) with that reverence and humilitie as is

<sup>10</sup>*Winsor: Narrative and Critical History, III., p. 304; Mass. Historical Collections I., p. 125; Morton: New England Memorial, p. 58; Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 81.*

seldome to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, etc., as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world."

Lyford was hospitably received. According to Bradford,—

"They gave him the best entertainment they could, (in all simplisitie,) and a larger allowans of food out of the store than any other had, and as the Gov<sup>r</sup> had used in all waightie affairs to consulte with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, (together with his assistants), so now he caled Mr. Liford also to counsell with them in their waightiest bussinesses. After some short time he desired to joyne him selfe a member to the church hear, and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgement of his former disorderly walking, and his being intangled with many corruptions, which had been a burthen to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunitie of freedom and libertie to injoye the ordinances of God in puritie among his people, with many more shuch like expressions."

John Oldham, who had come over in the "Anne" with ten associates, began to be a partner of Lyford. Oldham, it seems, had already given trouble, by his failure to co-operate in colonial affairs and by the reports he had sent back to England. Bradford found that Oldham and Lyford "grew very perverse, and shewed a spirite of great malignancie, drawing as many into faction as they could; were they never so vile or profane, they did nourish and back them in all their doings; so they would but cleave to them and speak against the church near; so as ther was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them." When the ship was about to return to England, Lyford wrote several letters which caused suspicion; these were intercepted, and discovered to be full of ridicule and slanders. One of them was addressed to a minister named John Pemberton, who was known to be "a great opposite" to the plantation. Another letter intimated that Oldham and Lyford "intended a reformation in church and commone wealth; and as soon as the ship was gone, they intended to joyne together, and have the sacraments." An investigation revealed that Lyford and his accomplices "withdrew themselves," and "set up a publick meeting aparte on the Lord's day; with sundry shuch insolente cariages . . . begining thus publickly to acte what privately they had been long plotting."

Thereupon court was convened; and Lyford was reminded that in joining the local church, he had professed "that he held not himself a minister, till he had a new calling etc. And yet now he contested against them, and drew a company aparte, and sequestred him selfe; and would goe to minister the sacraments (by his Episcopall calling)." Lyford was convicted; and the court censured Oldham. Both were sentenced to expulsion from the colony. Oldham's wife and family were permitted to stay all winter, or longer, until he could remove them comfortably; Lyford had liberty to remain six months. It is recounted that he burst into tears and confessed that he feared he was a reprobate, and that he acknowledged that his censure was far less than he deserved. Afterwards he confessed his sin publickly in the Church. The people stood ready to reinstate him and allow him to teach amongst them.<sup>11</sup>

The above is Bradford's account. Another picture is given in Morton's *New English Canaan*. Morton said that, before the brethren would allow him to be their pastor, Lyford would have first to "renounce his calling, to the office of the Ministry, received in England, as heretical and Papisticall, (so hee confest) and then to receive a new callinge from them, after their fantastickall invention which hee refused, alledging and maintaining that his calling as it stood was lawfull, and that hee would not renounce it; and so Iohn Oldham his opinion was one (on) the affirmative, and both together did maintaine the Church of England, to be a true Church, although in some particulars (they said) defective concluding so against the Tenents there, and by this meanes cancelled their good opinion, amongst the number of the Seperatists, that stay they must not, lest they be spies, and to fall fowle on this occasion, the Brethren thought it would betray their cause, and make it fall under censure, therefore against Master Layford they had found out some scandall; to be laid on his former corse of life, to blemish that, and so to conclude hee was a spotted beast, and not to be allowed where they ordained to have the Passover kept so zealously; as for John Oldham, they could see hee would be passionate, and moody; and proove himselfe a mad Iack in his mood, and as soon mooved to be moody, and this impatience would Minister advantage to them to be rid of him."<sup>12</sup>

Bishop Perry calls attention to the fact that "the only charges of immorality brought against (Lyford) were made during his espousal and advocacy of separatist views and practices, while of his career while in the 'Episcopal calling,' if we know little or nothing, we know nothing ill;" and furthermore, that the proofs of his gross immorality

<sup>11</sup>Bradford: *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, 1912 ed., I., pp. 117-125.

<sup>12</sup>Morton: *New English Canaan*, book III., ch. viii.

were "readily furnished when he sought to 'set up a publick meeting aparte, on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day,' and 'would goe minister the sacraments by his Episcopall calling.'" <sup>13</sup>

After banishment, Lyford officiated for the little company at Nantasket and Salem; he finally removed to Virginia. Morton states that, while still on the Bay and before going to Cape Ann, Lyford "freely executed his office and preached every Lord's day, and yet maintained his wife and children foure or five upon his industry there, with the blessing of God and the plenty of the Land, without the helpe of his auditory, in an honest and laudable manner, till hee was wearied and made to leave the country." <sup>14</sup>

Among the colonists of Robert Gorges who remained in Massachusetts, there was the Reverend William Blaxton, a Cambridge Master of Arts. Mr. Blaxton occupied "Shawmut," which has now become the city of Boston; there he had his cottage, his garden-plot, and his orchard. A clergyman of the Church of England, there is no record of his ministrations. He built a little house opposite Charles Town, by virtue of which he laid claim to the whole peninsula of Shawmut. By his invitation, members of the Massachusetts Company, who arrived at Mishawum (now Charles Town) under John Winthrop, commenced settling at Shawmut; hence the foundations of Boston were laid. Later the inhabitants dispossessed him; and justified their act by suggesting that he was an odd sort of man, who would not join himself with any of their New England churches. There is an account of Blaxton's sale of the land on which Boston now stands. His name is given in the first list of freemen of Massachusetts (1630).

Though doubtless an inoffensive person, Blaxton was hardly regarded with favour by the zealous Independents. They had no desire for a Church of England minister in their midst, who refused to renounce his allegiance to the Establishment. Blaxton said to the Puritans, in explaining his refusal to unite with them:—"I came from England, because I did not like the *lord-bishops*; but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the lord-brethren." <sup>15</sup> Aware that he was no match for the overpowering zeal of the Puritans, Blaxton made no effort to assert his Anglican opinions. Johnson, in his *Wonder Working Providence*, stated that he retained "no simbole of his former profession but a Canonickall Coate." <sup>16</sup> In 1634, he relinquished his holdings to the inhabitants of Boston; and received the sum of thirty pounds, each house-holder paying six shillings. <sup>17</sup> He then went fur-

<sup>13</sup>Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., p. 86.

<sup>14</sup>Morton: *New English Canaan*, Book III., ch. viii.

<sup>15</sup>Cotton Mather: *Magnalia*, book III.

<sup>16</sup>Johnson: *Wonder Working Providence*.

<sup>17</sup>Memorial History of Boston, I., p. 85.

ther into the wilderness, to a spot which he called "Study Hill," in the present limits of the town of Lonsdale, Rhode Island. Thus he became a pioneer white resident of that domain. He died May 26th, 1675; and was buried at Study Hill.<sup>18</sup>

## II. THE PURITANS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

In 1629, another colony settled in Massachusetts, far more numerous and wealthy than the Plymouth settlers. Some Dorchester traders had started a fishing venture in 1623, with a permanent station at Cape Ann, in Massachusetts Bay. They had abandoned it as a failure in 1626; but had left a foreman with some cattle on the spot. One of the company, John White, incumbent of Dorchester and a man of Puritan leanings, saw the possibility of building on this foundation.<sup>19</sup> White and others set forth their views in pamphlets; they were "deliberately establishing a refuge where Puritanism, and those political views which were so closely bound up with Puritanism, might flourish and react upon the religious and political life of the mother country." Six men of influence in the Puritan party obtained from the New England Company a grant of land; they already possessed a fishing-station at Cape Ann. John Endicott was at once sent out to occupy and develop this station. In March, 1629, a royal charter was obtained, incorporating the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. The same year, a fleet was sent out with 350 emigrants. Later the whole interest of the Company was transferred to ten persons, all concerned in the prosperity of the colony, while the management of affairs was transferred to America. With that the Company, as a body distinct from the colony, disappeared. The choice of a governor fell on John Winthrop, a Suffolk squire, forty-three years old, and a graduate of Cambridge. Some of Endicott's settlers had already established themselves in a settlement to which they gave the name of Charles Town; and Winthrop and his company joined them. But Winthrop soon moved to Boston. Within a year, eight small settlements had sprung up around Boston Bay.<sup>20</sup> Blaxton's negotiations with the newcomers, which resulted in the planting of Boston on his holdings, have already been noted.

While the new settlers were not actuated solely by religious motives, it is true that they were opposed to certain tendencies in the English Church; they witnessed a relaxation of moral standards, which filled

<sup>18</sup>*Sprague: Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit, pp. 1-3.*

<sup>19</sup>*J. A. Doyle, in Cambridge Modern History, VII., p. 15.*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid., pp. 15-16.*

them with distress, and they objected to the encouragement of ritualistic practices which savoured of a return to Romanism and they were exceedingly restive under the dominance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As Johnson expressed it, in his *Wonder Working Providence*:—

“When England began to decline in Religion, like luke-warm Laodicea, and instead of purging out Popery, a farther compliance was sought not onely in vaine Idolatrous Ceremonies, but also in prophaning the Sabbath, and by Proclamation throughout their Parish churches, exasperating lewd and prophane persons to celebrate a Sabbath like the Heathen to Venus, Baccus, and Ceres; in so much that the multitude of irreligious lascivious and popish affected persons spread the whole land with Grashoppers, in this very time Christ the glorious King of his Churches, raises an Army out of our English Nation, for freeing his people from their long servitude under usurping Prelacy; and because every corner of England was filled with the fury of malignant adversaries, Christ creates a New England to muster up the first of his Forces in; Whose low condition, little number, and remoteness of place made these adversaries triumph, despising this day of small things, but in this hight of their pride the Lord Christ brought sudden, and unexpected destruction upon them.”<sup>21</sup>

While Puritans, these colonists were not separatists from the Church of England. A little concession on the part of the prelates would surely have retained many in the Church, who rebelled against full conformity. John Bastwick, doctor of physick, a soldier and a controversialist, who even suffered with Prynne and Burton and was sentenced to lose his ears and pay a fine of five thousand pounds, wrote in 1646:—

“It is well known that, in the time of the Prelates’ power, the removal of a very few things would have given great content to the most scrupulous consciences. For myself I can speak thus much, not only concerning the conscientious Professors here in England, but the most rigid Separatists beyond the seas; with many of which, I had familiar acquaintance at home and abroad; and amongst all that I conversed with, I never heard them, till within these twenty years, desire any other thing in Reformation but that the Ceremonies might be removed with their Innovations; and that Episcopacy might be regulated, and their boundless power and authority taken from them; and that the extravagances of the High Commission Court might be annihilated and made void; and that there might, through the Kingdom, be a preaching Ministry everywhere set up. . . . Yea, I can speak thus much, in the pres-

<sup>21</sup>Johnson: *Wonder Working Providence*, Book I., ch. 1.

ence of God, That Master Robinson, of Leyden, the Pastor of the Brownist Church there, told me, and others who are yet living to witness the truth of what I now say: 'That if he might in England have enjoyed but the liberty of his Ministry there, with an immunity but from the very Ceremonies: and that they had not forced him to a *Subscription* to them, and imposed upon him the observation of them; that he had never separated from it, and left that Church.'

<sup>22</sup>

The Reverend John White, of Dorchester, England, who has been styled the "father of the Massachusetts Colony" and "the Patriarch of New England," was a conformist, although he was in sympathy with the Puritan party in the Church. It was he, as we have seen, who saw the possibilities of a colony of Puritans in Massachusetts and aroused interest in the project by his writings. In 1630, he wrote "The Planters Plea" (published in London that year), in which he defended the New England settlers from the imputation of non-conformity or separatism. "Some variation from the formes and customes of our church" might be hoped for or expected, White said; but he denied that the sponsors of the enterprise were "projecting the erecting of this colony for a nursery of Schismatics." He asserted that "three parts of foure" of the planters were "able to justifie themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our church government and orders," and Governor Winthrop has "beene every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practise." "Neither all nor the greatest part of the Ministers are unconformable."

<sup>23</sup>

The Reverend Francis Higginson, for several years minister of the parish Church at Leicester, is said to have called out from the stern of the "Talbot," as he took his last view of Land's End:—

"We will not say, as the Separatists are wont to say, on their leaving England, Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome! But we will say, Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America."

<sup>24</sup>

Governor Winthrop and several others on board the "Arbella," signed a paper directed to their brethren of the Church of England,

<sup>22</sup>*Bastwick: The Utter Routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries*, Sig. F. 2 (Quoted as a note in *Bradford: History of the Plymouth Plantation*, 1912 ed., I., p. 12).

<sup>23</sup>*Force's Historical Tracts*, II., pp. 33-37.

<sup>24</sup>Reported in *Cotton Mather's Magnalia*.

designed to remove suspicion or misconstructions and to ask their prayers.

*“Reverend Fathers and Brethren :*

*“The generall rumour of this solemne Enterprize, wherein our selves with others, through the providence of the Almightye, are ingaged, as it may spare us the labour of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen our selves by the procurement of the prayers & blessings of the Lords faithfull Servants : For which end wee are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of Mercy ; which as it affords you the more opportunitie, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straights, we beseech you therefore by the mercies of the LORD IESUS to consider us as your Brethren, standing in very great need of your helpe, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charitie may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather, amongst us ; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteame it our honour, to call the *Church of England*, from whence we rise, our deare Mother, and cannot part from our native Countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tear’s in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as wee have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breasts : wee leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoyce in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, sincerely desire and indeavour the continuance & abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdome of CHRIST JESUS.*

*“Be pleased, therefore, Reverend FATHERS & BRETHREN to helpe forward this worke now in hand ; which, if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious, however your judgment if with the LORD, and your reward with your GOD. It is an usuall and laudable exercise of your charity, to recommend to the prayers of your Congregations the necessities and straights of your private neighbors ; Doe the like for a Church springing out of your bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will bee a most prosperous gale in our sailes, and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the GOD of the whole earth, as both we which shall finde it, and your selves, with the rest of our friends, who shall heare of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returnes of Thanks-giving, as*

the specialties of his Providence and Goodnes may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of GOD stirred up the Apostle *Paul* to make continuall mention of the Church of *Philippi* (which was a Colonie from *Rome*;) let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weake Colony from your selves) making continuall request for us to GOD in all your prayers,

"What we intreat of you that are the Ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our Brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of Grace.

"If any there be, who through want of cleare intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers & affections, but to consider rather, that they are so much the more bound to expresse the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering alwaies that both Nature and Grace, doth ever binde us to relieve and rescue with our utmost & speediest power, such as are deare unto us, when wee conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

"What goodnes you shall extent to us in this or any other Christian kindnesse, wee your Brethren in CHRIST IESUS shall labour to repay in what dutie wee are or shall be able to performe, promising so farre as God shall enable us to give him no rest on your behalves, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountaines of teares for your everlasting welfare, when wee shall be in our poore Cottages in the wilderness, over-shadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us. And so commending you to the grace of GOD in CHRIST, wee shall ever rest

Your assured Friends  
and Brethren,

"From *Yarmouth*  
aboard the *Arbella*  
*April 7, 1630.*

*"To: Winthroppe Gov.*

*Charles Fines.*

*George Philipps.*  
*&c.*

*Rich: Saltonstall.*

*Isaac Iohnson.*

*Tho: Dudley.*

*William Coddington*  
*&c."*

## III. SEPARATION OF THE PURITAN COLONISTS FROM THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

While the Puritan colonists were Church of England men and avowed their disinclination to separatism, they found on their arrival that there was a religious order already in existence; and they soon fell in line with the prevailing usage, even though it involved separation. Those who found their way to Salem were prevailed upon by Endicott and others to conform to the local system. On the 6th of August, 1629, Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton (who had arrived on the "George," June 29th) ordained each other. This signaled the break of the Puritan colony with the mother Church.

Winthrop and his company, arriving the following year, discovered that there was a congregation already established at Salem. Scurvy and other diseases breaking out, Thomas Fuller, a physician who had been a deacon in John Robinson's church, visited the new colonists and won their confidence and gratitude. It is said that Fuller was the chief means of transforming New England's Puritanism into Congregationalism. At any rate, within a few weeks after the Governor and his party appeared, there started in Charles Town a separatist, non-conforming congregation—"the First Church in Boston." Then Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, Isaac Johnson, and John Wilson entered into a solemn covenant, "to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace."<sup>25</sup> They avowed their intention "to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, (their) head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself."

Before the arrival of Governor Winthrop, Endicott had felt bound to rid the colony of some whose Anglican loyalty was considered an intrusion. Among the first patentees, there were two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, who showed their preference for the rites and customs of the Church of England, and protested against some of the practices of their Puritan brethren. An old writer tells us that "these two brothers gathered a company together in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the book of Common Prayer was read unto such as resorted thither." Mr. Endicott, "taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means," convened the two brothers before him. Thereupon the Brownes accused the ministers of departing from the orders of the Church of

<sup>25</sup>*Memorial History of Boston, I., p. 114.*

England: "that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, etc., but for themselves, they would hold to the Orders of the Church of England." The local ministers denied that they were either Separatists or Anabaptists; and declared that "they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the Ordinances of God there, but only from the Corruptions and Disorders there; and that they came away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-Conformity in their Native Land; and therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful Corruptions in the Worship of God." We are told that Endicott and the Council, and the generality of the people, "did well approve of the Ministers' Answer; and therefore, finding these two brothers to be of high spirits and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governour told them that New England was no place for such as they; and, therefore, he sent them both back to England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings, both against the governour and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it."<sup>26</sup>

Another Puritan settler who showed no inclination to embrace the new order was the Reverend Francis Bright, who arrived with Skelton and Higginson in 1629. He moved to Meshawum before his two companions were ordained; and there he tried to gather a congregation. It was said that "he was a godly minister;" but it does not appear that he ever abandoned the ministry of the Church of England.<sup>27</sup> The Reverend Ralph Smith did not seem to conform in all respects to the Salem standard; and he was an object of suspicion. Later he ministered to the Plymouth congregation, and conformed to the principles of the Separatists.<sup>28</sup> Thus the Puritan colony became rigidly Independent and exclusive.

The patentees in England were surprised and offended that the colonists should so suddenly and widely have departed from the Established Church. They were apprehensive of royal displeasure and of consequent harm to the secular interests which they were seeking to promote.<sup>29</sup> Letters from England expressed alarm at "some innovacions attempted by yo<sup>w</sup>;" and it was suggested that "it is possible some vndigested councils have too sodainely bin put in execucion w<sup>ch</sup> may

<sup>26</sup>Morton: *New England Memorial*, p. 147; Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., p. 96.

<sup>27</sup>Batchelder: *Eastern Diocese*, I., pp. 328-330.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>29</sup>Dexter: *Congregationalism as seen in its literature*, p. 419.

have ill construccion w<sup>th</sup> the state heere, and make vs obnoxious to any adversary."<sup>30</sup>

It is really difficult to explain the sudden change which affected the Puritans. After their avowals of loyalty to the English Church, they not only repudiated this allegiance but proceeded to a most bigoted and exclusive attitude towards those who tried to cling to the simplest Anglican usages. Probably the explanation lies in their desire for the security afforded by an alliance with the white settlers already there, as well as a recognition of the importance of agreement in fundamental matters in their precarious enterprise. They lived in a time of great religious partisanship; in fact, they were zealots themselves. Yet we are reminded that the Puritans were Anglicans, that quite a few of their number were University men, and that several of them were ordained clergymen and had even held parishes.

Doctor Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* (1702) tried to reconcile the farewell aboard the "Arbella" with the subsequent conduct of Winthrop and his company. He said:—

"First, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it *contained the whole body of the faithful*, scattered throughout the kingdoms, though of different persuasions about some *rites and modes* in religion . . . and the Church of England, as it was *confined* unto a certain constitution by *canons*, which pronounced *Ipsa Facto*, excommunicate all those who should affirm that the worship contained in the 'Book of Common-Prayer and administration of sacraments,' is unlawful, or that any of the *thirty-nine articles* are erroneous, or that any of the *ceremonies* commanded by the authority of the church might not be approved, used and subscribed; and which will have to be *accursed*, all those who maintain that there are in the realm any other meetings, assemblies or congregations of the king's born subjects, than such as by the laws of the land are allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves, the name of *true and lawful Churches*; and by which all those that refuse to *kneel* at the reception of the sacrament and to be present at publick prayers, according to the *orders* of the church, about which there are prescribed many formalities of *responses*, with bowing at the *name* of Jesus, are to be denied the *communion*; and all who dare not submit their children to be *baptized* by the undertaking of god-fathers; and receive the *cross* as a dedicating badge of Christianity, must not have *baptism* for their children: besides an *et-coetera* of how many more *impositions*! Again, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it kept the true *doctrine* of the Protestant religion . . . and the Church of England, as limiting that name unto a certain *faction*, who, together

<sup>30</sup>*Massachusetts Colonial Records, I., pp. 407-408.*

with a *discipline* very much *unscriptural*, vigorously prosecuted the *tripartite plot* of Arminianism and conciliation with Rome, in the church, and unbounded *prerogative* in the state; who set themselves to cripple as fast as they could the more learned, godly, painful ministers of the land, and silence and ruin such as could not read a *book for Sports on the Lord's days*; or did but use a *prayer* of their own conceiving, before or after sermon; or did but preach in an *afternoon*, as well as in a morning, or on a *lecture*, or on a *market*, or in anywise did countenance *old* superstitions, or *new* extravagancies; and who at last threw the nation into the lamentable confusion of a civil war."<sup>31</sup>

#### IV. PURITAN INTOLERANCE

In the Greek tragedies, the spirit of retribution always works to excess; and such was the case with the New England Puritans. They doubtless suffered much at the hands of the Anglican prelates; but they exerted an equal energy in forcing others into conformity with their practices and principles. The victims of intolerance, they became intolerant in turn. In May, 1631, a law was passed restricting the franchise to church-members; no one should be elected a freeman unless he was a member of one of the churches within the limits of the colony. This was done in order to keep the government in the hands of the colonists; or, as the act says, "to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest & good men, it was likewise ordered and agreed that for time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body pollitick, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of the same." Thus the cords of restraint were being tightened around the few old settlers, who were still adherents of the English Church. It is true that the colony was only a small private trading corporation, settled upon land which had been received by grant, and that there was room outside for other people; nevertheless, the settlements which came under the influence of the law represented the center of civilization and protection in that domain, and individuals would have found it exceedingly difficult to subsist in isolation. Soon marriage was made a civil institution; the magistrate was authorised to perform the ceremony and offer the prayers. Winslow explained that this course was necessary, because of the lack of a minister; but this does not account for the fact that it was later made illegal to make marriage sacramental.

On the 4th of September, 1633, according to Winthrop's journal, the Reverend John Cotton arrived aboard the "Griffin". He was born

<sup>31</sup>Mather: *Magnalia*, Book I., ch. 5, #3.

in Derby in 1584, and had been a brilliant scholar at Cambridge. Afterwards he was rector of St. Botolph's Church, Boston, in Lincolnshire—a conspicuous post. His non-conformity was marked, and caused the loss of his living. Landing in Massachusetts, he became teacher of the First Church of Boston. In his "Questions and Answers upon Church Government" (dated "25. 11m. 1634," but probably not printed till years afterwards), he endeavoured to give a definite shape to the church-life of New England. He suggested the order of worship, which should consist of (1) prayer, (2) a psalm, (3) "to reade the Worde and with all Preaching to give the sense, and applying the use, in dispensing whereof the Ministers were wont to stand above all the people in a Pulpit of wood, and the Elders on both sides, while the People hearkened to them with Reverence and Attention;" (4) an opportunity for any prophets who have a word of exhortation to give, to prophesy, if time permits, and (5) for any person young or old (women excepted) to ask questions "at the mouth of the Minister;" (6) the seals of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (7) the singing of a psalm; (8) a collection for the support of the ministry, the needs of the poor saints, and the furthering of the outward service of the church; and (9) the blessing by the minister or any of the prophets. Other books followed, tending to stabilize and define the New England position.<sup>32</sup>

During the year 1633, one of the older Anglican residents won the praise of Governor Winthrop by his benevolent work. There was a small-pox epidemic, especially mortal among the Indians; and Samuel Maverick buried thirty of the victims in one day. (This was the same Maverick, who had settled on Noddle's Island—now East Boston—and had written in behalf of Thomas Morton). Winthrop said:—

"It wrought much with them"—the Indians—"that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered to them; and yet few, only two families, took any infection by it. Among others, Mr. Maverick of Winesemett is worthy of a perpetual remembrance. Himself, his wife, and servants, went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their children. So did other of the neighbors."

From 1638 to 1641, Thomas Lechford, of "Clement's Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent.," resided in Boston. Earlier, he had suffered imprisonment and a kind of banishment for some acts construed to oppose episcopacy and the established ecclesiastical government of England. Cotton says that his offense was "witnessing against the Bishops in soliciting the cause of Mr. Prynne." (William Prynne,

<sup>32</sup>*Dexter: Congregationalism as seen in its literature, p. 423.*

a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had incurred Archbishop Laud's anger by the publication of his *Histriomatrix* in 1633). Lechford landed in Boston a little more than a year after Prynne's trial in the Star Chamber. From his arrival, he was regarded with distrust by those in authority; his profession was objectionable, no advocate being allowed in matters requiring legal process, and his ecclesiastical views being opposed to those of Massachusetts Bay. Lechford tried to prove the divine right of episcopacy in a manuscript treatise, which he submitted to Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley. Dudley, however, was much prejudiced, and pronounced the work "erroneous and dangerous if not hereticall;" he sent it to Governor Winthrop with the suggestion "that instead of putting it to the presse as hee desireth, it may rather be putt into the fire as I desire." This manuscript, with another of Lechford's theological essays, was submitted to a council of the elders, December 4th, 1638; but the author would not be convinced of his error. He remained outside the New England church, and was excluded from fellowship and disqualified for the privileges of a freeman or an officeholder. He said that he was "kept from all places of preferment in the commonwealth . . . forced to get his living by writing petty things, which scarce found him bread." Regular employment as a clerk or notary was denied him, though he was permitted to practice again on apology and was employed in writing "the court booke" for Mr. Endicott and the "breviat of laws," which was subsequently adopted (with some amendments) as the Body of Liberties. His book, *Plain Dealing*, was an attempt to prove that "all was out of joint, both in Church and commonwealth," in Massachusetts. Bishop Perry regarded it as a conscientious study.<sup>33</sup>

In July, 1640, Lechford wrote to some friends in London:—

"I know my friends desire to know whether I am yet of any better mind than some of my actions about the time of my coming away did show me to bee. I doe professe that I am of this mind and judgment, I thank God; that Christians cannot live happily without Bishops, as in England; nor Englishmen without a King. Popular elections indanger people with war and a multitude of other inconveniences. The people here, in short time, if the course were held long, (which God forbid!) are like to be most unchristian, and the rest erroneous and ignorant enough; I have not received the Sacrament these two yeares, nor am yet like to doe, for I cannot agree to such proceedings; I am not of them, in church or commonweal: Some bid me be gone, of which I am in some sort

<sup>33</sup>Perry: *American Episcopal Church*, I., pp. 92-100; J. Hammond Trumbull's reprint of Lechford's "*Plain Dealing*," pp. 22-23, &c.; Lechford's *Note Book* (*American Antiquarian Society*), pp. 89-90.

glad: others labor with me to stay, fearing my returne will do their cause wrong; and loth am I to heare of a stay, but am plucking up stakes with as much speed as I may, if so be I may be so happy as to arrive in Ireland, there at leaste to follow my old profession. . . . When they press me to stay I hold them to such points as these: 1. Let them be pleased to show me by the Scriptures that a people may make a church without the presence and approbation of an Apostle or Evangelist sent unto them from a church: 2dly, That a people have power to choose and ordain their own officers: 3dly, That any ministers have power of imposition of hands, without apostolical or evangelicall Bishops; and if they can, then I will stay. . . . I tell them the Scots have done they know not what, in putting out of Bishops: I say further to them that others may if they will strain at gnats, the cap, tippet, surplice, cross, kneeling at the Sacrament, &c., whereof none can be singly evil: but I for my part will pray that I may never swallow such camels as departs from Christ and his Apostles and Evangelists, but dissent (from) receiving imposition of hands from one another, downe from the days of the Apostles hitherto.”<sup>34</sup>

On the 28th of July, 1640, Lechford wrote:—

“I thank God, now I understand by experience, that there is no such government for English men or any nation as a Monarchy; nor for Christians, as by a lawfull Ministerie, under godly Diocesan Bishops, deducting their station and calling from Christ and his Apostles, in descent or succession; a thing of greater consequence than ceremonies (would to God I had known it sooner) which wile I have in my place stood for here these two years, and not agreeing to this new discipline, impossible to be executed, or long continued, what I have suffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all places of preferment in the Commonwealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread. . . . If the people may make ministers, or any ministers make others without an apostolicall Bishop, what confusion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Bishops then shall we have? If every Parish or congregation be so free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect. . . . And whereas I was sometimes misled by those of opinion that Bishops and Presbyters, & all Ministers are of the same authority: when I came to consider the necessary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church by experimentall footsteps here I quickly saw my error.”<sup>35</sup>

Lechford's life became miserable; and he returned to England,

<sup>34</sup>*Lechford's Note Book (American Antiquarian Society)*, pp. 274-278.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 287-289.

sailing from Boston, August 3rd, 1641. On November 16th, he was again an inmate of Clement's Inn; he returned "humbly" to the Church of England, "for whose peace, purity, and prosperity" he prayed daily.<sup>36</sup>

On May 1st, 1646, there was submitted to the General Court of Massachusetts, a "Remonstrance and humble petition," signed by Robert Child (a young man, well trained and connected, and the reputed holder of a degree in medicine from the University of Padua), Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Burton, John Smith, David Yale, and John Dand. It was complained that the petitioners could not discern in that colony "a settled form of government according to the laws of England;" that many thousands were debarred from all civil employments; that numerous members of the Church of England were "detained from the seals of the covenant of free grace, because, as it was supposed, they will not take these churches' covenants." It was prayed that all members of the Church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England; "or if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and from the impresses made of them or their children or servants into the war." The signers threatened to appeal to Parliament. This remonstrance caused much alarm in the General Court; it resulted in a synod for establishing a form of government and discipline by joint agreement of the churches, and bound the incoherent congregations together that there might be unity of action. The petition itself was refused, and those who presented it were fined for seditious language. The court said of them:—"These are the champions who must represent the body of non-freeman. If this be their head, sure they have an unsavoury head, not to be seasoned with much salt."<sup>37</sup> To prevent Thomas Fowle and John Smith from going to England to pursue their complaint, the Court stopped them with summons to appear and "answer to the matter of their petition." They replied by an appeal "to the Gentlemen Commissioners for Plantations." The Court committed them then to the custody of the marshall, until they gave security to be responsible to the judgment of the Court; and they were released. All seven of the signers of the "Remonstrance" were next arraigned as authors of "divers false and scandalous passages in a certain paper—against the churches of Christ and the civil government here established." They refused to answer; and appealed from the government, disclaiming its jurisdiction. The Court found them "deeply blamable;" and fined them, unless they made "an ingenuous and public acknowl-

<sup>36</sup>Perry: *American Episcopal Church, I., p. 100.*

<sup>37</sup>Anderson: *Colonial Church (2nd ed.), II., p. 452.*

edgement of their misdemeanors." This they refused to do. Child was fined fifty pounds; Smith, forty pounds; Maverick, ten pounds; and the others, thirty pounds apiece.

Apprehending further trouble, the Court sent Edward Winslow of Plymouth to England as the agent of the colony. Before Winslow's departure, the elders drew up a formal declaration, saying:—

"We conceive that, in point of government, we have, granted by patent, such full and ample power of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us, of making all laws and rules of our obedience, and of a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice, that no appeals or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us."<sup>38</sup>

Being informed that Mr. Child and Mr. David were preparing to go to England with a petition from a number of the non-freemen to Parliament, the magistrates seized their papers. They found complaints of civil and ecclesiastical maladministration in the colony, as well as of personal injuries. Among other things, the petition prayed "for settled Churches according to the Reformation of England," for the establishment in the colony of the laws of the realm, for the appointment of a governor general or some commissioner to reform the existing state of things. There were twenty-five signers of these papers. The Court imposed fines on those who remained in the colony. Child and David were fined two hundred pounds apiece; Smith and Burton, one hundred pounds; and Maverick, one hundred and fifty.<sup>39</sup> After these proceedings were closed, Child followed Winslow to England.

Winslow was not well received in England by the Commissioners for Plantations. A brother of Doctor Child attacked him in a pamphlet, "New England's Jonas cast up at London." Winslow tried to put Parliament on its guard against the treasonable designs of the Massachusetts plantations. Child's efforts were unsuccessful, as the times were unfavourable and the Puritans were in the ascendancy. William Vassall, who carried over the petition of the complainants, withdrew to Barbadoes; it is not certain that he ever returned to England.

The complaint had served, as we have noted, to put the Independent churches on the defensive, so that they convened a synod for completing their organization. In 1648, the work of the synod was embodied in the famous Cambridge Platform, which adopted the Westminster Confession as its creed, carefully defined the powers of the clergy, and declared it to be the duty of magistrates to suppress heresy.

<sup>38</sup>*Palfrey: History of New England, II., pp. 175-176.*

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid., pp. 177-178.*

In 1649, the General Court laid this platform before the congregations; in 1651, it was adopted. This event may be regarded as completing the theocratic organization of the Puritan commonwealth in Massachusetts.<sup>40</sup>

The King was then a prisoner—that is, at the time of the drafting of the Cambridge Platform. Archbishop Laud had been beheaded; the prelates' power was destroyed. When William Bradford wrote his *History of the Plymouth Plantations*, he expressed his pleasure at the downfall of the bishops. In his preface, he said:—

“It is y<sup>e</sup> Lords doing, and ought to be marvelous in our eyes! . . . The tiranous bishops are ejected, their courts dissolved, their cannons forceless, their servise casheired, their ceremonies uselesse and despised; their plots for popery prevented, and all their superstitions discarded & returned to Roome from whence they came, and y<sup>e</sup> monuments of idolatrie rooted out of y<sup>e</sup> land. And the proud and profane suporters, and cruell defenders of these (as bloody papists & wicked athists, and their malignant consorts) marvelously over throwne. And are not these greate things? Who can deney it?”

The Cambridge Platform had stated that “if any church one or more shall grow schismaticall, rending it self from the communion of other churches, or shall walke incorrigibly or obstinate in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case, the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require.” This was designed to anticipate any dissent from the established order. In 1659, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay forbade the observance of Christmas.

“For pventing disorders arising in seuerall places w<sup>th</sup>in this jurisdicon, by reason of some still observing such festiualls as were superstitiously kept in other countrys, to the great dishonour of God & offence of others, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing of labor, or feasting, or any other way, vpon any such accounts as aforesajd, every such person so offending shall pay for euery such offence fieve shillings, as a fine to the county.”<sup>41</sup>

This law was not repealed till 1681, although the King objected to it in 1665, as “contrary to the laws of England,” and proposed its repeal.

<sup>40</sup>Fiske: *The Beginnings of New England*, p. 142.

<sup>41</sup>*Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, IV., part 1, p. 366.*

The middle of the century witnessed the spirit of intolerance unchecked. John Winthrop died in 1649; and John Cotton in 1652. As John Fiske said, "both were men of extraordinary power. Of Winthrop it is enough to say that under his skilful guidance Massachusetts had been able to pursue the daring policy which characterized the first twenty years of her history, and which in weaker hands would almost surely have ended in disaster. Of Cotton it may be said that he was in some respects the most eminent among a group of clergymen who for learning and dialectical skill have seldom been surpassed. Neither Winthrop nor Cotton approved of toleration upon principle. Cotton, in his elaborate controversy with Roger Williams, frankly asserted that persecution is not wrong in itself; it is wicked for falsehood to persecute truth, but it is the sacred duty of truth to persecute falsehood. This was the theologian's view. Winthrop's was that of a man of affairs. They had come to New England, he said, in order to make a society after their own model; all who agreed with them might come and join that society; those who disagreed with them might go elsewhere; there was room enough on the American continent. But while neither Winthrop nor Cotton understood the principle of religious liberty, at the same time neither of them had the temperament which persecutes. Both were men of genial disposition, sound common-sense, and exquisite tact." But, Fiske adds, "it was most unfortunate that at this moment the places of these two men should have been taken by two as arrant fanatics as ever drew breath. For thirteen out of the fifteen years following Winthrop's death, the governor of Massachusetts was John Endicott, a sturdy pioneer, whose services to the colony had been great. He was honest and conscientious, but passionate, domineering, and very deficient in tact. At the same time Cotton's successor in position and influence was John Norton, a man of pungent wit, unyielding temper, and melancholy mood. He was possessed by a morbid fear of Satan, whose hirelings he thought were walking up and down over the earth in the visible semblance of heretics and schismatics. Under such leaders the bigotry latent in the Puritan commonwealth might easily break out in acts of deadly persecution."<sup>42</sup>

## V. GROWING OPPOSITION TO PURITAN INTOLERANCE

After the accession of King Charles the Second, there were measures taken in favour of the English Church; and grievances were presented at court. John Leverett, agent of the General Court of Massachusetts in London, learned that the Quakers and others had been making known their grievances, and that a petition had been presented for the sub-

<sup>42</sup>Fiske: *The Beginnings of New England*, pp. 202-205.

jection of New England to a general governor. His communication would imply that the Church of England members were complaining. He notified the Massachusetts people (1660) that "Episcopacy, common prayer, bowing at the name of Jesus, sign of the cross in baptism, the altar, and organs are in use and like to be more. The Lord keep and preserve his churches, that they may not be fainting in the day of trial."<sup>43</sup> On receipt of the letter from Mr. Leverett, the General Court ordered, December 19th, 1660, that addresses be made to the King and to the High Court of Parliament.

On the 11th of February, 1661, there was presented to the King the petition of the General Court sitting at Boston, praying for his Majesty's "Gracious Protection of us, in the continuance both of our Civil Priviledges, according to (and of our Religious Liberties, the Grauntees known end of suing for) the Pattent conferred upon this Plantation by your Royal Father."

"Our Liberty to walk in the Faith of the Gospel, with all good conscience, according to the order of the Gospel (unto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subservient) was the cause of our transporting our selves, with our wives, little ones, and our substances from that pleasant Land, over the *Atlantic* Ocean, into this vast and waste Wilderness: chusing rather the pure Scripture worship with a good conscience, in this poor remote Wilderness, amongst the Heathens, than the pleasures of *England*, with subjection to the Imposition of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience."

The petitioners asked that the King let nothing make an impression upon his royal heart against them, until they had opportunity and license to answer for themselves.<sup>44</sup>

The address of the General Court to Parliament was more concise than that to the King. In it the petitioners said that they had transplanted themselves, and for thirty years enjoyed the rights under their patents. Their late claiming and exercising of jurisdiction over some plantations to the eastward of them, supposed to be without the limits of their patent, had occurred upon petition of the inhabitants there, and not from any desire to extend a dominion or prejudice any man's rights.<sup>45</sup>

The answer of the King was dated June 28th, 1662, and was conveyed by Simon Bradstreet, a magistrate, and John Norton. His majesty declared his expectation that henceforth the oath of allegiance

<sup>43</sup>Palfrey: *History of New England*, II., p. 448.

<sup>44</sup>Humble Petition and Address of the General Court.

<sup>45</sup>Palfrey: *History of New England*, II., pp. 449-450.

be taken by the colonists; that the administration of justice be in his name; that all laws and ordinances contrary or derogatory to his authority and government be annulled and repealed. He further said:—

“And since the principle and foundation of that Charter was and is the freedom of liberty of conscience, Wee do hereby charge and require you, that that freedom and liberty be duely admitted and allowed, so that they that desire to use the Booke of Common Prayer and perform their devotion in that manner that is established here be not denied the Exercise thereof, or undergoe any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they using their liberty peaceably without any disturbance to others; and that all persons be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper according to the said Book of Common Prayer, and their Children to Baptism.”

It was also stipulated “that in the choice of governor and assistants the only consideration to be had should be of the wisdom, virtue and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction with reference to opinions and outward profession; that all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, and orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning church government, should have their votes in the election of all officers, both civil and military.”<sup>46</sup>

On receipt of this letter, the General Court was perplexed and undecided what course to take. It was directed that the royal letter be published, and that all action in reference to the same be suspended until the next General Court, so that all persons concerned might have “time and opportunity to consider of what way necessary to be done . . . .” On the 8th of October, the Court appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe return of the delegates. A month later, there was kept a day of fasting and humiliation “on account of the affliction and low estate of the cause and people of God universally, with the prevailing power of Anti Christ over the reformed churches beyond the seas, together with some public rebukes of God among ourselves.”<sup>47</sup> The instructions, so far as they applied to religion, were disregarded.

About this time, Samuel Maverick wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, regarding the tyranny and arbitrary dealings which characterised the Massachusetts people.

“As for liberty of Conscience the p<sup>r</sup>tence of their going over, they never yett allowed any to those never so littele differinge in Judgment from them. There are many thousands

<sup>46</sup>*Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2nd series, VIII., p. 52.*

<sup>47</sup>*Palfrey: History of New England, II., p. 528.*

have not received the Sacram<sup>t</sup> since they went over, and many thousands more borne there in the like Condition, although they are of Competent Knowledge, and ready to give account of it in publike, and liue not scandalously.”<sup>48</sup>

The affairs of New England were proving very unsatisfactory to the King and his ministers. The royal commands were not properly regarded; and there were complaints from “the Greate Men & Natives of those Countreyes, in which they complaine of breach of faith and of acts of violence and injustice which they have been forced to undergoe.” So, on the 25th of April, 1664, the King issued a commission to Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carre, George Carteret, and Samuel Maverick, empowering them “to visit the several colonies of New England; to examine and determine all complaints and appeals in matters civil, military, and criminal; to provide for the peace and security of the country, according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they should receive from the King, and to certify them of their proceedings.”<sup>49</sup>

On the 23rd of July, the royal commissioners arrived. It is said that there was a chaplain in the group; but it is not known how much or where he officiated.<sup>50</sup> Needless to say, the commission was ungraciously received. The General Court of Massachusetts had passed a law prior to 1662, making it a penal offense to use the Book of Common Prayer; and to this law the royal commission objected, saying:—

“It being scandalous, that any person should be debarred the exercise of his religion according to the laws and customs of England, by those who by the indulgence granted have liberty left to be what profession in religion they please.”

The General Court refused to change the law. On being pushed for a definite reply to the King’s demand about the Prayer Book, the Governor and Company of Massachusetts made the following answer (May 16th, 1665):—

“Our humble addresses to his Maj<sup>ty</sup> have fully declared our mayne ends in our being voluntary exiles from our dear native country, which wee had not chosen at so deare a rate, could wee haue seene the word of God, warranting us to performe our devotions in that way, & to have the same set vp here: wee conceive it is apparent that it will disturbe our peace in our present enjoyments.”<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Clarendon Papers (New York Historical Society Collections, 1869, p. 30).*

<sup>49</sup>*Palfrey: History of New England, II., pp. 578-586.*

<sup>50</sup>*Batchelder: Eastern Diocese, I., pp. 342-343.*

<sup>51</sup>*New England Historical & Genealogical Register, XXV., p. 348; Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, IV., part 2, p. 200.*

In answer to the four propositions of the King's commissioners, the Court of New Plymouth stated (May 4th, 1665):—

"It having been our constant practice to admit men of competent estates, & civil conversations, though of different judgments, yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen, and to have liberty to choose, & be chosen officers both civil & military. . . . We cannot but acknowledge it to be a high favour from God, & from our Souveraign, y<sup>t</sup> we may enjoy our consciences, in point of God's worship, the mayn end of transplanting our selues into these remote corners of the earth; & should most hearily rejoyce, y<sup>t</sup> all our neighbours so qualified as in that proposition would enjoyn them selves to our societies, according to the order of the gospell for enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves & theirs. But if through different perswasions respecting church government, it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any according to the proposition that are truly conscientious although differing from us, especially where his Majesty commands it, they maintaining an able preaching minister for the carrying on of publick Sabbath worship, w<sup>ch</sup> we doubt not is his Majesties intent, & withdraw not from paying their due proportion of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the place where they live, untill they have one of their own; & y<sup>t</sup> in such places as are capable of mayntaining the worship of God in 2 distinct congregations. Wee being greatly encouraged by his Mat<sup>ties</sup> gracious expressions in his letter to us, & your honors further assurance of his Royall purpose to continue our liberties, that where places, by reason of our paucity, & poverty are incapable of two, it is not entended that such congegations as are already in being should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different perswasions, in societies by themselves w<sup>ch</sup> by our known experience tends most to the preservation of peace & charity."<sup>52</sup>

Colonel George Cartwright, one of the King's Commissioners, wrote an account of Massachusetts on his return from America. He said:—

"They will not admitt any who is not a member of their church to the communion, nor their children to baptisme, yet they will marry their children to those whom they will not admit to baptisme, if they be rich. . . . Those whom they will not admitt to the communion they compell to come to their sermons, by forcing 5<sup>s</sup> from them for every neglect; yet these men thought their own paying of 12<sup>d</sup> for not comming to prayers

<sup>52</sup>*Clarendon Papers (New York Historical Society Collections, 1869, pp. 59-60).*

in England was an insupportable tyranny, and they yet constantly pray for their persecuted bretheren in England.”<sup>53</sup>

In his answer to the Massachusetts narrative of transactions with the royal commissioners, Cartwright said:—

“The liberty (they mention) . . . will be best expounded by their own words . . . concerning the use of common prayer book—And to have the same set up here, we conceiue it is apparent, y<sup>t</sup> it will disturb our peace in our present enjoyments. And if all their lawes concerning their churches be read, it will easily appear the common prayer book was never entended. And the banishing of Mr Williams, Mr Wheelwright, Mr Gorton, Mr. John Clark &c. and indeed all who differed so farr from them, as would not come to their meeting houses, or quietly pay 5<sup>s</sup> aday for missing shoves y<sup>t</sup> they never entended any other worship should be set up, but their own.

“Touching these priuiledges &c There is scarce one non-member y<sup>t</sup> hath had land given him, & scarce a member that hath not had. Divers haue complained to the Com: of this very thing: as would haue appeared by the papers lost, if here.”

He said in the same document that the Massachusetts people claim that “they haue as much power to set up what church discipline they pleas, & to oblige all people to obserue it within their jurisdiction as the King hath in Endland. And when y<sup>t</sup> say, it is no barre, &c. they forget, or dissemble their own Act; he y<sup>t</sup> is not a church member must pay 10<sup>s</sup> at a single rate (w<sup>ch</sup> is a great deal there) or he cannot be a freeman.”<sup>54</sup>

King Charles was much displeased by the way in which the commissioners had been received and treated by the General Court. By letter, he commanded that agents be sent over, and promised to hear their arguments in person. After arriving in England, the agents found such a strong feeling against Massachusetts that they realized that they could effect nothing. So they returned home.

In 1676, Edward Randolph arrived in New England. He had a letter from the King and a complaint from Mason and Gorges that the Massachusetts colonists had illegally extended their jurisdiction. The legal authorities in England, before whom the case was brought, decided that neither Maine nor New Hampshire was within the charter limits of Massachusetts. Randolph discovered, on his first visit to Boston, that there were laws forbidding the observance of Christmas

<sup>53</sup>*Clarendon Papers (New York Historical Society Collections, 1869, p. 84).*

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 100.

or any other festival, and the solemnization of marriage except by a magistrate; else that suffrage was confined to the members of the Congregational churches. Pressure was exerted to have the laws modified. Most of the people of New England had never witnessed an Anglican service. They associated the name with Stuart tyranny, and lost sight of the fact that others had a right to religious liberty. They were distressed at the suggestion of an English Church being introduced.

Randolph made his report to the Committee for Trade and Plantations of the Privy Council, October 12th, 1676. He said that the Massachusetts Bay colony was most flourishing and powerful, and gave laws to a great part of the country "by a pretended Charter from his late Majesty." The legislative power was seated in a General Court, from which there was no appeal; it consisted of the governor, the deputy governor, and ten magistrates, with deputies of the several towns in that jurisdiction—all elected yearly. This court was the supreme jurisdiction of the colony; it alone had power to make laws, raise money, lay taxes, dispose of lands, give and confirm proprieties, impeach and sentence and pardon, and receive appeals from all inferior courts. The governor, deputy governor, and magistrates were chosen by the votes of the freemen of the colony. "No person is admitted to be a freeman of the Colony, or to have vote in any election, but Church members who are in full Communion & approved of by the General Court." As a mark of sovereignty, they coin money and stamp it "1652"—that year being the era of their commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent colonies to their obedience, and summoned deputies to sit in the General Court. Of their independent rights, they were very jealous; they do not observe the laws of England except when they coincide with their own convenience.

"They see no evil in a Church member and therefore it is very difficult to get any sentence or verdict against them though in the smallest matters. No Law is in force or esteem there, but such as are made by the General Court, & therefore it is accounted a Breach of their priviledges, & a betraying of the Liberties of their Commonwealth to urge the observation of the Laws of England or his Majesty's Commands."

Of the laws most derogatory and contradictory to those of England, Randolph said:—

"Ministers are ordained by the people, and no injunction to be put upon any Church Officer or member in point of Doc-

trine, Worship, or Discipline, whether for substance or circumstance besides the Institution of the Lord.

"Whosoever shall observe Christmas Day or the like festivals by forbearing Labour, feasting or any other way, shall pay 5 shillings, & whosoever shall not resort to their meetings upon the Lord's Day, & such days of fasting & thanksgiving, as shall be appointed by authority, shall pay five Shillings. No days commanded to be observed by the Church of England are regarded.

"No person shall be impressed or compelled to serve in any wars, but such as shall be interprized by that Commonwealth by the Consent of a General Court or by Authority derived from the same.

"No person shall join any persons in Marriage, but a magistrate, it being an Honourable Ordinance and therefore should be accordingly solemnized.

"All strangers professing the true Christian religion who shall fly them for succor, from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from any or compulsory cause, they shall be entertained & protected amongst them according to that power & prudence God shall give them . . . ."

Randolph said that the magistrates and all other officers in the civil government in any place of profit or advantage are members of the local church and freemen. "But the number of the Church members & freemen compared with the rest of the Inhabitants of that Jurisdiction (who are termed the dissenting party), is very Inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one sixth part, the most wealthy persons of all professions being men of good principles, & well affected to his Majesty. It is nothing but Interest & designe that draws most of that people into their Churchmanship & to think well of that religion & Government they thrive under."

"The Ecclesiastical Government is in the hands of lay Elders; these being the Laws & Constitutions, no person is permitted to gather a Church without the approbation of the Magistrates and the Elders of the neighbour Churches.

"Every Church hath liberty of Election & Ordination of Officers and Ministers.

"To exercise all the Ordinances of God according to the Rule of the Scripture.

"To Celebrate days of fasting, prayer & thanksgiving, according to the Word of God.

"No Injunction to be put upon any Church, Church officer, or member in point of Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, whether for substance or circumstances besides the Institution of the Lord.

"Hath liberty of admission, dismissal & expulsion of their officers and members, with free exercise of the Dis-

cipline and censures of Christ according to the Rules of the Word.

"The Civil authority hath power to see the peace, ordinances, and rules of Christ observed in every Church, & to deal with any Church member in a way of Civil Justice, notwithstanding any Church relation, office, or Interest.

"No Church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any civil Dignity, office or authority he shall have in the Commonwealth.

"Whosoever shall interrupt any Minister in his preaching, or charging him with any error that he hath not taught, shall pay five pound.

"The Ministers in Boston are paid by a Collection weekly made in the several Congregations by the Elders, who give the Ministers what they think fitt, but in other Towns they have a settled maintenance by a rate laid upon every Inhabitant, & Houses are provided for them."<sup>55</sup>

In 1679, a number of persons of Boston petitioned the King "that a Church might be allowed them for the exercise of religion according to the Church of England."<sup>56</sup> There is no evidence that anything was done in response to this plea, at the time.

The King wrote the Massachusetts authorities, however, in 1679, that "those that desire to serve God in the way of the Church of England, be not thereby made obnoxious or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much lesse that they or any other of our good subjects (not being Papists) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities, for the same: which is a severity to be the more wondered at, when as liberty of conscience was made one principall motive for your first transportation into those parts, nor doe wee think it fitt that any other distinction be observed in making freemen, than they be men of competent estates, rateable at ten shillings, according to the rules of the place, and that such, in their turnes, be also capable of the magistracy, and all lawes made voyd that obstruct the same."<sup>57</sup>

Randolph spent fourteen years in New England; and during that time his influence was directed against the dominant party. The King had appointed him collector and surveyor of customs at the port of Boston; and his prestige was considerable. On the 29th of May, 1682, he wrote the Bishop of London, assuring him of the safety of any clergyman he might send over. He suggested that a part of the money

<sup>55</sup>Hutchinson: *Collections of original papers relating to the history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay*, pp. 447-503; *Hutchinson Papers*, II., pp. 210-240.

<sup>56</sup>Humphreys: *Historical Account* . . . S. P. G., p. 312.

<sup>57</sup>Hutchinson: *Collections of original papers relating to the history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay*, p. 520.

sent over "and pretended to be expended among the Indians" might go towards maintaining the ministers.<sup>58</sup> Randolph wrote another letter to the bishop, July 14th, 1682, saying that "nothing will so effectually settle this government on a firm dependence upon the crown as bringing a *quo warranto* against their charter, which will wholly disenable many, now great sticklers and promoters of the faction among us, from acting further in a public station." He begged that "a sober discreet gentleman" be sent over as minister. As long as the agents of the colony were in England, they would be security for the minister's civil treatment.

"He will be received by all honest men with hearty Christian respect and kindness, and if his majesty's laws (as none but fanatics question) be of force with us, we could raise a sufficient maintenance for divers ministers out of the estates of those whose treasons have forfeited them to his majesty."<sup>59</sup>

There must have been a suspicion that efforts were being made to secure an English minister. In the Bodleian Library, there is an unsigned letter from Boston to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated December 11th, 1682, reporting that in Massachusetts, the people "are wholly averse to ye Discipline of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England, tho' it hath been otherwise represented by Mr Mason, who hath brought over Common-prayer Bookes from my L<sup>d</sup> Bishop of London; So y<sup>t</sup> I can give no Incouragem<sup>t</sup> to invite an Orthodox Divine to come Hither, where both maintenance wilbe wanting, & he would be otherwise uneasy."<sup>60</sup>

In October, 1683, the writ of *quo warranto* from the King's Bench was sent over. The *scire facias* issued from the chancery came after some little delay. Massachusetts refused to surrender the charter; but it was annulled by decree of chancery, June 21st, 1684. It was by virtue of this charter "that not only the cherished political and ecclesiastical institutions of the colony, but even the titles of individuals to their lands and houses, were supposed to be founded. By the abrogation of the charter, all rights and immunities that had been based upon it were at once swept away, and every roof of the soil of Massachusetts became the personal property of the Stuart king, who might, if he should possess the will and the power, turn out all the present occupants or otherwise deal with them as trespassers."<sup>61</sup> The interests of the Puritan clergymen were vitally affected. Before the cancellation of the charter, not one of the inhabitants of Massachusetts could vote

<sup>58</sup>Greenwood: *King's Chapel*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>60</sup>MSS. Tanner (Bodleian Library), 35, fo. 140.

<sup>61</sup>Fiske: *Beginnings of New England*, p. 296.

for officers of the corporation, unless he was a freeman and a Congregational communicant. "When the direct government of the English crown took the place of the class government which had domineered Massachusetts by a perversion of her Royal charter, it was very natural that her Puritan ministers should have keenly felt their altered condition, and have bitterly vented their griefs. Their political supremacy was gone. They could no longer control the choice of corporate officers who would make laws at their dictation. There was now popular equality under the Common Sovereign of all English Colonists, where sectarian privilege had flourished before, under a colonial oligarchy. And so the cry was soon started that Episcopalian 'wild beasts of the field' had entered through the broken hedge of the old charter, and were ravaging that succulent Massachusetts sheep-fold of which Puritanism had so long enjoyed the exclusive pasture."<sup>62</sup>

The diary of Samuel Sewall reveals the strong animus that existed against the Church of England. Sewall had graduated at Harvard in 1671; and was managing a printing press at Boston from 1681 to 1684. For some years he was a merchant; and he held several minor political offices. Later he became a member of the Council, and was chief justice from 1718 to 1728. He died the 1st of January, 1730. He was a man of comprehensive and well-balanced mind.

On Christmas day, 1685, he wrote:—

"Carts came to Town and Shops open as is usual. Some somehow observe the day; but are vexed I believe that the Body of the People profane it, and, blessed be God, no Authority yet to compel them to keep it."

He recorded, December 31st, that the Reverend James Allen, pastor of the First Congregational Church, preached against observing December 25th, and called the festival "Antichristian Heresie," and "spoke against the Name."<sup>63</sup>

## VI. THE REVEREND ROBERT RATCLIFFE—ANGLICAN

On the 14th of May, 1686, the "Rose" entered Boston Harbour, "freighted heavily with wo to the Bostoneers." It brought a commission to Joseph Dudley as president of Massachusetts, Maine, Nova Scotia, and the lands between; it also brought the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe, the first Church of England minister who had come over with a commission to officiate on this soil. Ratcliffe was a Bachelor of Arts of

<sup>62</sup>John Romeyn Brodhead, in *Historical Magazine*, I., 2nd series, Jan., 1867, pp. 6-7.

<sup>63</sup>Sewall's *Diary*, I., pp. 114-115.

Exeter College, Oxford, October 16th, 1677; a Master of Arts, June 15th, 1680; later he became a Bachelor of Divinity.<sup>64</sup> Four days later, Sewall wrote in his diary:—

“1686. Tuesday, May 18. A great Wedding from Milton, and are married by Mr. Randolph’s Chaplain at Mr. Shrimpton’s, according to y<sup>e</sup> Service-Book, a little after Noon, when Prayer was had at ye Town House: Was another married at ye same time; The former was Vosse’s son. Borrowed a ring. Tis s<sup>d</sup> they having asked Mr. Cook and Addington, and y<sup>v</sup> declining it, went after to y<sup>e</sup> President, and he sent y<sup>m</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Parson.”<sup>65</sup>

This departure from the local rule of marriages by magistrates was quite an innovation.

After Dudley assumed his office, Mr. Ratcliffe waited on the Council; and Mr. Mason and Mr. Randolph proposed that he should have one of the three Congregational meeting-houses for his services. The request was denied; but he was allowed the use of the library room in the east end of the town (which stood where the Old State House now stands). The presence of a representative of the English Church was resented as an intrusion.

Ratcliffe was evidently a good orator. Dunton, a London bookseller who was in Boston at the time, said:—

“The next Sunday after he landed he preach’d in the Town-house and read Common-Prayer in his Surplice, which was so great a Novelty to the Bostonians that he had a very large Audience; and myself happening to go thither for one, it was told about Town, as a piece of Wonder, That Dr. Annesley’s Son-in-Law was turn’d Apostate . . . I went but once or twice at the first, tho’ Mr. R. . . . was an Extraordinary good Preacher.”<sup>66</sup>

On the 25th of May, 1686, the new government of New England came into power. (Connecticut was not included.) Joseph Dudley was appointed president of his Majesty’s territory of New England. He had been of old a non-conformist minister; it was not likely that his introduction of Anglican services would be forgiven. Besides Ratcliffe, there was another English clergyman who did some duty on the shore—the Reverend Mr. Buckley, chaplain of the “Rose.”

Sewall wrote in his diary, on Sunday, May 30th:—

<sup>64</sup>Perry: *American Episcopal Church, I., p. 175.*

<sup>65</sup>Sewall’s *Diary, I., p. 139.*

<sup>66</sup>Dunton: *Letters, p. 187.*

"My son reads to me in course y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> of Isaiah—In that day shall the song, etc. And we sing y<sup>e</sup> 141 Psalm both exceedingly suited to y<sup>e</sup> day wherein there is to be Worship according to y<sup>e</sup> Ch<sup>ch</sup> of Eng<sup>nd</sup> as 'tis call'd in y<sup>e</sup> Town House by Countenance of Authority. 'Tis defer'd till y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of June at whāt time y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit is provided. The Pulpit is movable, carried up and down stairs as occasion served. It seems many crowded thither, and y<sup>e</sup> Ministers preached forenoon and afternoon."<sup>67</sup>

On the 15th of June, 1686, the Church of England was organized in Boston. It was voted to defray the expenses by weekly collections at the evening services. The services were allowed in the east end of the town-house, where the deputies used to meet. Doctor Benjamin Bullivant and Mr. Richard Banks were the first church-wardens. It was voted to address the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, "to implore their favour to the church, and that all other true sons of the Church of England might join in the same." It was agreed that Mr. Smith the joiner make twelve forms for the service of the Church, and be paid twenty shillings quarterly for placing and removing the pulpit, forms, table, and so forth. It was a humble beginning. Radcliffe was to receive a salary of fifty pounds.

On July 4th, the vestry agreed that the Council be requested to give permission to solicit donations for building a Church in Boston for the Anglican services. The first observance of the Lord's Supper took place at the town-house, August 8th. The churchmen promptly undertook securing gifts for the Church; they even solicited help from those unfriendly to the venture, though not always with success. Much apprehension was felt by the Puritans.

Randolph found that Dudley did not support the establishment as he expected. Although Dudley had been a non-conformist minister, Randolph supposed that a contract was implied that the Church of England would be installed. The following letter was written by Randolph, August 2nd:—

"Some time after y<sup>e</sup> settlement of y<sup>e</sup> gov<sup>nt</sup>, I moved for a place for the Church of England men to assemble in; after many delays, at last were gott a small room in y<sup>e</sup> town house, but our Company increasing beyond the expectation of the gov<sup>t</sup>, we now use y<sup>e</sup> Exchange, and have y<sup>e</sup> Common-prayer and 2 sermons every Sunday, and at 7 a-clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning on Wednesdays and Frydays the whole service of y<sup>e</sup> Church; and some Sundays 7 or 8 persons are in one day baptis'd, and more would daily be of our communion had we but the countenance and company of the President and Council, but instead

<sup>67</sup>*Sewall's Diary, I., pp. 142-143.*

thereof wee are neglected and can obtain no maintainance from them to support our minister. Butt had we a gen<sup>e</sup> gov<sup>r</sup> we should haue a large congregation and also one of the churches in Boston, as your Grace was pleased to propose when these matters were debated at y<sup>e</sup> Council Table. I humbly remind your Grace of the money granted formerly for evangelizing the Indians in our neighborhood. It's a great pitty that there should be a considerable stock in this country (but how imployed I know not) and wee want 7 or 800£ to build us a church. Their ministry exclaim against y<sup>e</sup> common prayer, calling it man's invention, and that there is more hopes the whoremongers and adulterers will go to heaven than those of y<sup>e</sup> C. of Eng. . . . Your Grace can hardly imagine the small artifices they have used to prevent our meetings on Sundays, and at all other tymes to serve God. They have libelled my wife and our Minister, and this is done (as credibly believed) by y<sup>e</sup> minister of the frigott; yett it's countenanced by the faction, who haue endeauored to make a breach in my family, betwixt me and my wife, and have accomplished another design in setting up and supporting Capt. Georg, Commander of the 'Rose' frigott, against me. . . . It is necessary that ye gou<sup>r</sup> license all their ministers, and that none be called to be a pastor of a congregation without his approbation. By this method alone the whole Country will easily be regulated, and then they will build us a church and be willing to allow our ministers an honorable maintenance.

"Wee have a sober, prudent gentleman to be our minister, and well approved; but in case of sickness or other casualtyes, if he have not one soul from Eng<sup>d</sup> to helpe him, our church is lost. 'Tis therefore necessary that another sober man come ouer to assist, for some tymes 'tis requisite that one of them visit the other colonyes to baptise and administer the Sacrament; and in regard we cannot make 40<sup>lb</sup> a yeare start by contributions for support of him and his assistant, it would be very grateful to our Church affaires if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> would please to grant us his Royall letters, that the 3 meeting-houses in Boston, which seuerally collect 7 or £8 on a Sunday, do pay to our Church Warden 20s. a weeke for each meeting-house, which will be some encouragement to our ministers, and then they can but raile against ye Service of y<sup>e</sup> Church. They haue great Stocks, and were they directed to contribute to build us a Church, or part from one of their meeting-houses, Such as wee should approue; they would purchase their exemption at a great rate, and then they could but call vs papists and our Minister Baal<sup>s</sup> Priests."<sup>68</sup>

In a letter to Archbishop Sancroft, July 7th, Randolph spoke of the affronts that were levelled at Mr. Ratcliffe—"some calling our minister Baal's priest, and some of their ministers from the pulpit

<sup>68</sup>Perry: *Historical Collections, Massachusetts*, p. 653.

calling our praiers leeks, garlick, and trash. They refuse maintenance for our minister—say ‘those that hire him must mainetaine him, as they mainetaine their owne ministers, by contribution’.” Randolph declared that he personally had brought on himself “so many enemise, and to all my crimes added this one as the greatest in bringing the letherdge and cerimonise of the Church of England.”

On October 27th, Randolph could report that there were four hundred daily frequenters of the Church; “and as many more would come over to us, but some being tradesmen, others of mechanick professions, are threatened by the congregationall men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they offer to come to our church.”

William Harrison was buried, August 5th, 1686. This was the first known use of the Episcopal burial service in Boston. Sewall recorded the fact in his diary.<sup>69</sup>

Sir Edmund Andros, formerly Governor of New York, was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief over New England. He arrived at his new post of duty, December 19th, 1686. He had been a page in the royal household, and had shared the exile and falling fortunes of the House of Stuart. In the service of Prince Henry of Nassau, and afterward as gentleman in ordinary to the Queen of Bohemia, he acquired courtly manners. He was a valued and devoted servant of the reigning house. He succeeded Dudley; and became the first royal governor of the province. On the day he landed, he tried to arrange for the partial use of one of the Congregational meeting-houses for Anglican worship. His commission from King James the Second contained the following direction:—

“And for the greater ease and satisfaction of our loving subjects in matters of religion, we do hereby will and command that liberty of conscience be allowed to all persons, and that such especially as shall be conformable to the rites of the Church of England be particularly countenanced and encouraged.”

On the 21st of December, the Independent ministers and four representatives from each congregation held a meeting, and agreed that they could not consent with a good conscience for their meeting-houses to be used for the “Common-Prayer worship.” The next day the Reverend Cotton Mather and the Reverend Samuel Willard told the Governor so.<sup>70</sup> Andros renewed his efforts; on March 22nd, 1687, he made an inspection of the three Boston meeting-houses. The following

<sup>69</sup>*Sewall's Diary, I., p. 146.*

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid., p. 162. Samuel Willard was pastor of the South meeting-house.*

day, he sent Mr. Randolph for the keys of the meeting-houses, in order, as he said, that he may say his prayers there. Sewall entered this note in his diary after that occasion:—

“Mr. Eliot . . . and myself wait on his Excellency, show that y<sup>e</sup> Land and House is ours, and that we can’t consent to part with it to such use; exhibit an extract of Mr. Norton’s Deed and how ’twas built by particular persons as Hull, Oliver, 100£ apiece, etc.”<sup>71</sup>

That Governor Andros carried out his design, however, is seen from Sewall’s note of March 25th:—

“The Gov<sup>r</sup> has service in ye South Meetinghouse; Goodm. Needham (the Sexton), tho’ had resolv’d to y<sup>e</sup> Contrary, was prevail’d upon to Ring y<sup>e</sup> Bell and open y<sup>e</sup> door at y<sup>e</sup> Governour’s Command, one Smith and Hill, Joiner and Shoemaker, being very busy about it.”<sup>72</sup>

This was on Good Friday. During the rest of Andros’ administration—a little over two years—the Episcopalians had joint occupancy of South Church with its proper owners. There was much inconvenience. Sewall complained of the long services on Easter and other festivals, when the congregations were kept waiting to use the meeting-house. It was not wise to keep the owners in a state of irritation; and the arrangement at best could be but temporary. We may quote Sewall’s description of Easter day, March 27th:—

“Gov<sup>r</sup> and his retinue met in our Meetingh- at eleven; broke off past two, bec. of y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament and Mr. Clark’s long sermon; now we were appointed to come half hour past one, so ’twas a sad sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, bec. had not entrance into y<sup>e</sup> house.”<sup>73</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Clark, whose long sermon on Easter annoyed the Congregationalists, remained in Massachusetts only a few months. On November 5th, 1686, Sewall noted the fact that “One Mr. Clark (of the English Church) preaches at the Town-House. Speaks much against the Presbyterians in England and here.” On the 7th of April, 1687, he said that he was sailing.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup>*Sewall’s Diary, I., p. 171.*

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid., p. 171.*

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid., p. 172.*

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid., pp. 156, 172.*

The friction that resulted from the efforts of two religious bodies to use the same house of worship is seen in the following entries in Sewall's valuable journal. On May 10th, 1687, he told of the efforts to prevent a repetition of the Easter delay.

"Mr. Bullivant having been acquainted that May 15<sup>th</sup> was our Sacrament-day, he writt to Mr. Willard, that he had acquainted those principally concern'd, and 'twas judg'd very improper and inconvenient for the Governour and his to be at any other House, it being Whit-Sunday and they must have the Communion, and that 'twas expected should leave off by 12, and not return again till they rung the Bell, that might have time to dispose of the Elements. So remembering how long they were at Easter, we were afraid 'twould breed much confusion in the Afternoon, and so on, on Wed, concluded not to have our Sacrament for 'twas in vain to urge their promise. And on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May were bid past One a pretty deal."

On May 15th, after these precautions, the Church of England worshippers left at half past one; so Sewall and his fellow-religionists "have our Afternoon Exercise in due season. But see they have the advantage to lengthen or shorten their Exercises so as may make for their purpose."<sup>75</sup>

On the 1st of June, a fast was kept at the South Church, "because of the putting by the Sacrament the last Turn," as Sewall expressed it, "and the difficult circumstances our Church (is) in above others, regarding the Church of England's meeting in it." On the 12th of the same month, said Sewall, the Congregationalists had the "Lord's Supper at the South-Church. But Church of England men go not to any other House; yet little hindrance to us save as to ringing the first Bell and straitning the Deacons in removal of the Table."<sup>76</sup>

Governor Andros carried the Reverend Mr. Ratcliffe with him to the commencement of Harvard College, on the 6th of July. The minister was seated by his orders in the pulpit with the president of the school; but the latter went his way, disregarding him.

On the 10th of February, 1688, Lady Andros, the Governor's wife, was buried. The corpse was drawn by six horses, with a guard of soldiers, from the governor's house down to the South meeting-house; the body was carried into the western door. Mr. Ratcliffe preached on the text, "All flesh is grass."<sup>77</sup> Sewall was evidently present.

<sup>75</sup>*Sewall's Diary, I., pp. 176-177.*

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid., pp. 179-180.*

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid., pp. 202-203.*

## VII. THE FIRST ANGLICAN CHURCH—1688

In the meantime, the members of the Church of England had gained sufficient strength to proceed to the erection of their own church; the strained relations would be relieved. In 1688, a brief was authorized by Council for asking and receiving the free and voluntary contributions of any of the inhabitants of the town of Boston towards the building and erecting of a house of worship for the Anglican services; when the members felt ready to purchase a site, they applied to Mr. Sewall. In his diary, March 28th, we read:—

“(Mr. Ratcliff) spake to me for Land at Cottonhill for a Church w<sup>ch</sup> were going to build. I told him I could not, first because I would not set up that w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> People of N. E. came over to avoid; 2<sup>ly</sup> ye land was entail’d. In after discourse I mentioned chiefly the Cross in Baptism, and Holy Dayes.”<sup>78</sup>

Easter, 1688, was thus noted in Sewall’s diary:—

“Mr. West comes to Mr. Willard from y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> to speak to him to begin at 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morn, and says this shall be y<sup>e</sup> last time; they will build a house. We begin in ab. ½ hour past 8, yet y<sup>e</sup> people come pretty roundly together. ’Twas Easter-day and y<sup>e</sup> Lord’s Supper with us too.”<sup>79</sup>

Forty days later (May 24th), he writes:—

“Bell is rung for a Meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Ch<sup>eh</sup> of Engl<sup>d</sup> Men, being in their language Ascension day.”<sup>80</sup>

In June, there was a dispute between Governor Andros and the Puritan owners of South Church. The Governor complained of the Puritans’ using the meeting-house so long and keeping the Anglicans waiting. Sewall describes the scene (June 23rd, 1688):—

“Capt. Frary and I goe to his Excellency at the Secretaries Office, and there desired that He would not alter his time of Meeting, and that Mr. Willard consented to no such thing, neither did he count that ’twas in his power so to doe. Mr. West said he went not to ask Mr. Willard leave. His Excellency asked who the House belong’d to; we told him the Title to the House was on Record. His Excellency turned to Mr. Graham and said, Mr. Attorney, we will have that look’d into. Governor said if Mr. Willard not the Parson, so great an Assembly must be considered. We said He was Master

<sup>78</sup>*Sewall’s Diary, I., p. 207.*

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid., p. 210.*

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid., p. 214.*

of the Assembly, but had no power to dispose of the House, neither had others, for the Deed expressed the Use 'twas to be put to. Governour complain'd of our long staying Sabbath-day senight; said 'twas the Lord's Supper, and had promised to go to some other House on such dayes; Mr. Randolph said he knew of no such promise, and the Governour seemed angry, and said He would not so break his word for all the Massachusetts Colony, and therefore to avoid mistakes, must give in writing what he had to say; we answered, Mr. Randolph brought not any writing to those he spake to. Governour said we rent off from the old Church against the Gov<sup>t</sup>, and the Land the House stood on was bought clandestinely, and that one should say he would defend the work with his Company of Soldiers—Mention'd folks backwardness to give, and the unreasonableness; because if any stinking filthy thing were in the House we would give something to have it carried out, but would not give to build them an house: Said came from England to avoid such and such things, therefore could not give to set them up here; and the Bishops would have thought strange to have been ask'd to contribute towards setting up the New-England Churches. Governour said God willing they would begin at Eight in the Morning, and have done by Nine; we said 'twould hardly be so in the Winter. Mr. Graham said if they had their Service by Candle-Light what was that to any; And that the Service appointed by the Church for morning could not be held after Noon."<sup>81</sup>

In all these discussions, we find the same arguments repeated; the Independents contend that their ancestors left England to get away from the Established Church; the Anglicans claim that they have the same right to free religious expression that the Congregationalists have. On both sides, there is a display of ugly, unhealthy sentiments. The wrangling just described had its effect in the particular case, however, for on June 24th (the day after) Sewall wrote:—

"They"—the Church of England members—"have done before nine in the morning, and about a quarter after one in the afternoon; so we have very convenient time."<sup>82</sup>

The same year there was a conflict over the grave of Edward Lilley, one of the subscribers to the new church-building, between Mr. Ratcliffe and a Puritan deacon, Frary, who forbade the reading of the Prayer Book at the grave.<sup>83</sup> There were doubtless many outbursts of ill will, which have not come down to us.

After fruitless efforts to purchase a site on Cotton Hill, the Gover

<sup>81</sup>*Sewall's Diary, I., pp. 217-218.*

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid., pp. 218-219.*

<sup>83</sup>*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 185.*

nor and Council conveyed a part of the corner from the old burying ground for the new structure. On the 16th of October, 1688, "the Ground sills of ye Ch<sup>ch</sup> are Laid, y<sup>e</sup> stone-foundation being finished." On the 17th, "a great part of ye Church is raised."<sup>84</sup> The building cost £284/16s. Ninety-six residents of the colony contributed £259/9s. of that sum; Governor Andros, Colonel Francis Nicholson, and other officers gave the rest. The Church was without pews, but had a "pulpit cushion with fringe, tassell, and silk;" in 1694, pews were paid for by a subscription of £53.<sup>85</sup>

Soon the Boston Church was to lose its patron. On the 4th of April, 1689, the news arrived that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, and King James the Second had abdicated. There was quiet among the people for a few days; but on the morning of April 18th, the drums beat to arms, the signal-fire was lighted on Beacon Hill, a meeting was held at the town house, and militia began to pour in from the country. Governor Andros was called on to surrender; it is said that he besought the Reverend Mr. Willard to intercede for him, but that minister refused. Next day the castle was surrendered, and the royal frigate was dismantled in the harbour. Andros was imprisoned; and held in confinement until February, 1690, when he was sent back to England by order of the government. The leaders of the rebellion set up a temporary government, which was continued until a new charter arrived from William and Mary, dated October 7th, 1691.

The tyranny of Andros has long been a tradition of New England. Anything identified with the unfortunate Governor suffered in esteem. With his name is associated the humiliation of the colonies; he is said to have trampled ruthlessly upon every political and religious right. Yet John Fiske characterises him as "the dull and dogged English officer such as one often meets, honest enough and faithful to his master, neither cruel nor rapacious, but coarse in fibre and wanting in tact." It should be remembered that he made a very acceptable governor to Virginia and Maryland for six years. In both those provinces the English Church was established; the reason for his unpopularity in New England suggests itself. Indeed the editor of Sewall's diary, for the Massachusetts Historical Society, said (1878):—

"A careful examination of the life of Andros will probably convince the student that he was a brave and loyal servant of the crown, a devout but not bigoted churchman, and very far from being the tyrant the New England traditions have portrayed."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup>*Sewall's Diary, I., pp. 231-232.*

<sup>85</sup>*Perry: American Episcopal Church, I., p. 186.*

<sup>86</sup>*Massachusetts Historical Collections, 5th series, V., p. 175.*

During this revolt, the English Church was in constant danger from mob violence. It was "daily threatened to be pulled downe and destroyed."<sup>87</sup> The windows were broken to pieces; "and the Doors and Walls daubed and defiled with Dung and other filth in the basest manner imaginable, and the Minister for his safety was forced to leave the country and his congregation, and go to England."<sup>88</sup> Andros was so closely watched that his gaoler would not let the chaplain visit him.<sup>89</sup> The Reverend Mr. Ratcliffe, while escaping imprisonment, was hindered and obstructed in the discharge of his duty. The Independent ministers "by all ways and means possible, as well in their Pulpits as private Discourses, endeavour's to asperse, calumniate, and defame" the members; "and so far did their malice and bigotry prevail, that some of them openly and publicly hindered and obstructed the Minister in the performance of the funeral Rites, to such as had lived and dyed in the Communion of the Church of England."<sup>90</sup> Such an interference occurred at the burial of Major Howard in the churchyard, where the grave had been prepared according to his will; the Reverend Joshua Moody, of the First Church, "publicly affronted" Mr. Ratcliffe, "and hindered (him) from doing of his Duty." "Scandalous Pamphlets" were "printed to villifie the Liturgy." Churchmen were "daily called Papist Doggs and Rogues to their Faces." The "plucking down the Church" was "threatened." The windows were broken; and the Puritans tried to minimize the offence by saying that "all the mischief done is the breaking of a few Quarels of glass by idle Boys, who if discover'd had been chastiz'd by their own Parents;" still the records of the Church show (November 2nd, 1689) a payment of £-5/10s. "for mending Church Windows"—the size of the cost disproving this reasoning. "Whoso will but take the Pains to survey the Glass Windows will easily discover the Marks of a Malice not Common."<sup>91</sup>

On the 28th of May, 1689, Edward Randolph wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury, regarding the situation in New England. "They have imprisoned y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> in the fort under a strict Gard they kept me in the Common Goal. Giving out he is a Papist & that I have committed treason . . . (They) wished to return to their former government; used this as means." The Reverend Doctor Increase Mather has published a book on the "Idolatry of y<sup>e</sup> Common prayer

<sup>87</sup>*Address of rector and wardens to the King, quoted in Foote: Annals of King's Chapel, I., p. 191.*

<sup>88</sup>*New England's Faction Discovered, by C. D. (Andros Tracts, II., p. 212).*

<sup>89</sup>*Perry: Historical Collections, Massachusetts, p. 60.*

<sup>90</sup>*Andros Tracts, II., p. 211.*

<sup>91</sup>*Andros Tracts, II., p. 110; Palmer's Impartial Account (Andros Tracts, I., p. 53); Foote: Annals of King's Chapel, I., pp. 106-110.*

worship which renders all of vs of that church obnoxious to the Common people who account vs Papists & treat us accordingly." Randolph recommended the Reverend Mr. Ratcliffe to his Grace's favour, as a sober gentleman, who must now go to England "to sollicite for the enlargement of many of his constant hearers imprisoned for no other reason but because they were of the church of Eng<sup>d</sup>."<sup>92</sup>

Ratcliffe does not appear to have sailed until July—not until after his successor, the Reverend Samuel Myles, arrived. Doctor Foote, the historian of King's Chapel, admits that Ratcliffe strove to maintain kindly relations with the Puritans; and Sewall noted in his diary that he met Mr. Ratcliffe before he left, and that "he pray'd God Almighty to bless me."<sup>93</sup> We feel sure that he was a sincere, good man.

On June 30th, 1689, worship was first held in the little Anglican Church in Boston. After numerous struggles and reverses, the Church of England secured a foothold; and the old Independent despotism was powerless to prevent its progress.

<sup>92</sup>MSS. Tanner (*Bodleian Library*), 27, fo. 29.

<sup>93</sup>*Sewall's Diary*, I., p. 233.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758.* A Biography by Ola Elizabeth Winslow. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 406.

This monumental Biography is based primarily upon the Edwards manuscripts in the Andover Collection, together with those deposited in the Yale library, which has 568 complete Edwards sermons, in addition to note-books, letters and drafts of unpublished works. The printed books and sermons published in Edwards' lifetime and those issued after his death, have also been laid under tribute. The thoroughness of research which has gone into the making of this volume is indicated by the fact that twelve pages listing books and periodicals which have been consulted are printed in the appendix. In the light of these voluminous sources Miss Winslow has retold the story of Jonathan Edwards with arresting charm as she outlines his career from his birth in a small New England town to his student days at Yale College; his pastorate at Northampton which had such a disastrous ending; his work as a missionary to Indians at Stockbridge, and his election as president of New Jersey College (Princeton), where he died one month after assuming the office. His English ancestry goes back to "Richard Edwards, Minister," a clergyman of the Church of England, and a schoolmaster, whose widow married one James Cole, an ardent Dissenter, who gloried in worshipping "where there is neither Crosses nor Surplus, nor kneeling at the Sacrament." Together with his wife and William Edwards, son of the aforesaid minister, Cole settled in America in 1635, taking up his abode at Hartford, Connecticut. Jonathan Edwards, the subject of this Memoir, was born in 1703, his father, Timothy, being minister of East Windsor parish, Connecticut, for sixty-four years. He matriculated at Yale College when he was thirteen years of age, before the college had a settled abode or even a building. After his graduation he acted as tutor in the college for two years. As a parish minister he was not very successful. He spent thirteen hours of every day in his study only responding to pastoral calls in cases of extreme urgency. Metaphysical to a degree, he was a typical example of New England plain living and high thinking, though his Northampton parishioners criticized him for having his clothes made in Boston, and wearing a hat which cost three pounds. But this book is more than a Biography. It is a careful, unbiased, discriminating and critical study of religious life and thought in New England in the first half of the Eighteenth century, and therein lies its permanent value. "The Great Awakening" is vividly described together with its disastrous reaction, and the part George Whitefield played in that famous revival is not depicted in a favorable light. Miss Winslow is at her best in the treatment of the theological position of Edwards. He was a theologian in the days when theology was the "queen of sciences." The keystone of his theology was Calvinism, pure and unadulterated, his *magnum opus* being his volume on *The Freedom of the Will*. The student of the development of Christian thought will find in these pages a wealth of material, for herein is contained "a major contribution to the religious and intellectual history of New England."

*St. Luke's Parish in Lincolntown, N. C. Founded November 29, 1841. A Record of the First One Hundred Years of Service of the Parish. Published by the Vestry of the Church. 1941. Pp. 20.*

It is a happy omen of the revival of interest in our Church history that a publication like this should be sponsored by the Vestry of the parish. There were churchmen in Lincoln County as early as 1736, but in Lincolntown the first church services appear to have been held in 1834. The parish itself was formally organized on November 29, 1841, by thirteen men, and has continued its work and witness from that day to this. It is interesting to note that when the present church was built Silas McBee, later internationally known as editor of *The Churchman* and founder and editor of *The Constructive Quarterly*, and a member of the Vestry of St. Luke's, was the architect and builder, carving with his own hands the altar, reredos and credence table. The format of this little publication is a credit to the parish.

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*Seventy-fifth Anniversary Celebration. 1866-1941. Diamond Jubilee of Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, Ridgewood, New Jersey. May 11, 1941, to June 1, 1941. To be Holden in the Church and Parish House, corner of Franklin Avenue and Cottage Place, Ridgewood, New Jersey. Pp. 24.*

In this booklet there is outlined the history of Christ Church, Ridgewood, New Jersey, beginning with its organization on February 6, 1864. The first church was opened in 1866 with eighteen pews. It was superseded by the present church in 1900. The parish has done well to put its history in printed form.

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## HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEYS.

### MARYLAND.

*Inventory of the Church Archives of Maryland. Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland. The Maryland Historical Records Survey Project. 1940. Pp. 310.*

All these surveys have certain things in common which are of great value not only to students of the history of this Church, but also to those interested in the social and religious life of the people of the United States. For it becomes increasingly evident that no broad estimate of the development of the country can be made without a comprehensive view of the part religion has played in that development. These surveys begin with an historical sketch of the Church and go on to the succession of bishops; diocesan and parochial organizations. A special feature of this particular issue is a list of the diocesan records which are kept in the Diocesan Library in Baltimore. They include letters and other papers of Bishop Claggett, the Ethan Allen Manuscripts and other documents which are invaluable source material for any study of the origin and growth of the Church in Maryland. Then follows what is common to all these Surveys—a list of the parishes and missions with sketches of their history. Here is added an outline of the beginnings of the Cathedral of the Incarnation which owes its inception to the foresight of Bishop Paret in 1908. The defunct parishes and missions are also listed, and, what is extremely important for research, the inventory and

custody of parish records is indicated. Under the head of "Current Diocesan Institutions" Schools, Homes, &c., are listed. From this summary it will be seen that every phase of the church in Maryland has been carefully surveyed.

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THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

*Inventory of the Church Archives of New York State.*

1.

Protestant Episcopal Church. Diocese of Western New York.

2.

Protestant Episcopal Church. Diocese of Rochester.

3.

Protestant Episcopal Church. Diocese of Long Island (Vol. 2. King's County. Queen's County.)

4.

Protestant Episcopal Church. Diocese of New York (New York County. Bronx County. Richmond County.)

The Survey of the State of New York is still in the making. That of the dioceses of Western New York and Rochester is complete with all the features common to these publications. The Long Island volume covers that part of the diocese which lies within the City of New York, including Brooklyn. A second volume will include the counties of Nassau and Suffolk. The present issue goes back to the organization of the diocese in 1868 and the election of Abram Newkirk Littlejohn as first bishop. It is especially interesting as covering such colonial parishes as Jamaica, Flushing and Newtown. The New York volume running to 152 pages, covers the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx and Richmond (Staten Island). A subsequent report will include the parishes on the East and West side of the Hudson River and the County of Westchester. It begins with a careful outline of the beginning of the Church of England in the Colony of New York, when services were conducted by the chaplains to the royal governors, and follows on to the Ministry Act of 1693 which eventually resulted in the organization of Trinity Parish; then going on to treat of the troubled period of the War of the Revolution and the subsequent organization of the diocese of New York and the election of Samuel Provoost as first bishop. On page 3 the Christian name of Wolley, the first chaplain, is given as "John." It should be "Charles." On page 14 the date of Samuel Provoost's election as Rector of Trinity is given as April 22nd, 1784. The actual date, as witness a letter of the Vestry to Benjamin Moore, was April 5th. Page 18 gives the place of the election of Samuel Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut as "Waterbury, Connecticut." It should, of course, be "Woodbury." This historical account leaves some things to be desired. The treatment of the trial of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk with its subsequent effect on the diocese is not very satisfactory. No mention is made of the action of the General Convention in making provision for the election of a Provisional Bishop. On page 24 the constitution of

membership of the Diocesan Missionary and Church Extension Society is incorrectly given. There is an admirable account of the beginnings and subsequent development of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, together with a full Bibliography. In the sketch of Trinity Parish it is stated (page 49) that the first clergyman of St. John's Chapel was the Rev. Sullivan Weston in 1855. Actually it was served by the clergy of Trinity Church as far back as 1803. The list of parishes receiving aid from the Corporation of Trinity Church on page 53 is far from complete. It should be checked by a similar list given in Berrian's *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church* on pages 366-386. Other corrections to be noted are: page 77, "Littleton" should read "Middletown"; page 96, "Joshua" should read "J. Newton." It is rather difficult to understand upon what principle selections were made for the Bibliography; why Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, should be listed, and not the History of St. James', Hyde Park, the adjoining parish, and the History of St. Philip's in the Highlands, Garrison; why Dix's History of Trinity Parish, and not Berrian's. By and large, however, it is difficult to exaggerate the value of this report.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

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*Eastern Orthodox Churches and Armenian Apostolic Church.* Pp. 178.

This report includes every congregation of the 13 Eastern Orthodox Churches and of the Armenian Holy Apostolic Church of America within the five boroughs of the City of New York. The Historical Introduction deals with the European background and the coming of the Orthodox Church to America by way of Alaska in 1784 when a trading settlement was established on Kodiak Island. In 1868 the first Russian Church in continental America was established at San Francisco. To meet the needs of the growing Syrian community an Armenian church was founded in New York city in 1895, and ten years later New York was recognized as the center of Russian Orthodoxy in the Western world. An illuminating account of the effect of the Revolution in Russia on the churches in America is given in this historical introduction. A careful perusal of this Report will go far to an intelligent understanding of what has been, and to some extent, still is, a confused situation, complicated by disputes concerning episcopal jurisdiction.

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*Directory of Churches in New Jersey.* Vols. I-VI, VIII, X-XIV, XVI-XXI. New Jersey Historical Records Survey, W. P. A. Newark, 1940 and 1941.

Eighteen of the 21 volumes of the *Directory of Churches in New Jersey* are now completed; Volumes VII, IX, and XV, are still to be published. Each volume is a directory of the churches in a particular county and the volume numbering is in alphabetical order of the counties; that is, Volume I is the directory for Atlantic County, Volume XXI is the directory for Warren County—the last in alphabetical order.

These directories are a complement to the *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey* program. (See *Historical Magazine*, Volume IX, pp. 264-65, for a review of this latter volume.) They are "intended to serve not only the clergy and officers of religious organizations" in each county, "but also individuals within or without the State who may wish to make any of these contacts."

"Following the final county directory in this series, a volume will be issued covering the religious organizations and institutions statewide . . . Each directory lists alphabetically the denomination and church, and also includes the name of the clergyman, address and telephone listing when available."

In addition to the table of contents which gives the page entry for each denomination, there is a Church Name index, a Place index, and a Clergy and Laity index.

All of the directories are of present usefulness and in the future will be valuable for reference work and for checking the names and location of churches and ministers.

WALTER H. STOWE.

*Reprint of the Journal of the First Convention (1826) of the Diocese of Mississippi*, including the Appendix of Constitution and Canons. Edited by Nash Kerr Burger, Historiographer, with a Foreword by William Mercer Green, Bishop of Mississippi. Jackson, 1941. 18 pp.

Here is the first fruit of a project which it is earnestly hoped many other dioceses will emulate, namely, the reprinting of the earliest diocesan journals. In the case of many dioceses which are one hundred years old, more or less, complete files of their journals are exceedingly rare and difficult of access to historical students.

The original first Journal of the Diocese of Mississippi was printed in 1826 from the press of *Ariel*, Mississippi's first literary paper, by James K. Cook. Of this first edition there were 250 copies.

This reprint, one hundred and fifteen years later, from the press of Purser Brothers, Jackson, is as nearly a facsimile as it was possible to make it. The reprint is an edition of 300 copies.

Bishop Green in his Foreword gives a brief sketch of the beginnings of the Episcopal Church in the State of Mississippi.

At the end of the volume Mr. Burger has added two pages of "Clerical Biography," which are most welcome. His research has cleared up many puzzles about the clergymen who took part in Mississippi's first diocesan convention, although some puzzles still remain unsolved. The clergymen were: the Rev. Messrs. Adam Boyd, Adam Cloud, John Wurts Cloud, James Angel Fox, Albert Arney Muller, and James Pilmore.

Mr. Burger has been a valued contributor to the pages of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and edited the volume of the Historical Record Survey dealing with the archives of the Diocese of Mississippi, including the historical introduction, which is the most complete story of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi thus far written. His work is an excellent illustration of what constructive results can be accomplished by diocesan historiographers who take their duties seriously.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

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